20c SEPTEMBER 22, 1952

HOW McCARTHY "SOLD" WISCONSIN—page 10

New Republic

# VOTER'S GUIDE TO 1952

## The Record of the 82nd Congress on 31 Major Roll-Calls, The Performance of the Coalition and the Parties, and an Analysis of Their Meaning for the Next President

***Reviews of***

Henry Adams' ***DEMOCRACY*** by Irving Howe

John Martin's ***ADLAI STEVENSON*** by Lowell Mellett

Koestler's ***ARROW IN THE BLUE*** by George Mayberry

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# Letters

### Why the Republicans Lose

● I have just finished rereading the article by W. E. Binkley on the Republican Party (*NR*, September 1) and my judgment from the article remains the same; it proves that the Republican Party is incapable of being revitalized. I don't argue with the thesis that it would be healthy for our country if it was revitalized and won an election. The important things are the reasons why it hasn't won for 20 years and will probably lose again. . . .

The Republican Party *is* "anti-labor, anti-farmer, anti-housing, anti-rural electrification, anti-poor man, anti-youth and anti-almost everything that contributed to the invincible Franklin Roosevelt group combination. It hasn't just been "made to appear" that way. With the great majority of the press and of the financial wealth backing it the Republicans have lost because the people don't trust them. That party still has nothing more to offer "than an appetite and a belly ache." It actually has less to offer now than in the past 20 years. To invoke its "great past" seems to me both inane and pointless. It is not the past of Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln that makes either major party great or not great today. . . .

*McKeesport, Pa.* LAWRENCE STRAUS

### Schoenberg's Cornerstone

● As a naïve humorist, Robert Evett is adequate, but an evaluation of Schoenberg and his school (*NR*, September 8) is obviously beyond his ken. A controversial subject, it requires of those who criticize it a degree of caution and humility at least comparable to that possessed by Schoenberg himself. . . .

It was to be expected that Mr. Evett, like most others who have written on this subject, would avoid the crucial questions posed by Schoenberg and discuss only the surface phenomena produced by them. Schoenberg's innovations, and they are surprisingly few, rest firmly on his interpretation of the evolution of music. If his interpretation is sound, the innovations are only logical conclusions. Mr. Evett does not even brush against this cornerstone. Whether his failure is to be attributed to reluctance or to ignorance I cannot say, but I suspect the latter. His statement, "If Webern wanted to destroy our Western conventions . . ." suggests that to Mr. Evett, Schoenberg sought to destroy rather than to emulate musical tradition. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Rather, Mr. Evett seems content to base his conclusions on fallacies and shaky phantasmagoria. He sneers at Schoenberg's indebtedness to Wagner. Reading between the lines, I suspect that Mr. Evett is devoted to Stravinsky, but were I to abuse Stravinsky *because* of his debt to Mozart, for example, I know that he would be indignant. . . .

*Topeka, Kansas* SCOTT BRIAR

### Convert

● Like yourselves, I was skeptical of Adlai Stevenson at first. I was a Kefauver supporter, and even considered casting a write-in vote in November—so great was my disappointment.

But, I have been watching him closely, and as you say he seems almost too good to be true. So far he has come out for Taft-Hartley repeal, he has taken a liberal stand on tidelands, and is standing firm on the New Deal, Fair Deal progress of the past 20 years.

I bought a book recently on Stevenson by Noel F. Busch. It is excellent. From reading his life story, his speeches, and his answers to interviewer's questions, I am convinced that Adlai will make a very good President, and I shall vote for him. . . .

*Saginaw, Mich.* EUGENE D. MOSSNER

### Still for Kefauver

● I read the *New Republic* and from a Democratic standpoint, was a little bit astonished at the enthusiasm displayed on its pages . . . over the selection of Governor Stevenson as the standard-bearer for the Democratic Party. . . . Such praise coming from what I have always considered a liberal magazine is in my estimation a return to conservatism.

. . . People watched the antics of both conventions via the television, and a completely one-sided press can hardly pull the wool over the eyes of the public as easily as formerly. The resemblance of Senator Kefauver's shunting to that of Henry Wallace's consignment to political oblivion in 1944 is remarkable, and in both cases the men ruled out by crooked finagling were the ones favored by overwhelming majorities of Democratic voters. The writer, a lifelong Democrat, is like dozens of others in the party here in this California community that will not vote for Stevenson. . . .

*Ontario, Calif.* E. L. NANCE

### Austere but Refreshing

● Today as I was on my lunch hour, I stopped at a newsstand and noticed a very austere looking magazine called the *New Republic*. I picked it up and saw that it was the magazine I had always wanted to read but didn't because I didn't know it existed.

Enclosed is a dollar bill for 13 weeks of the *New Republic* and the Stevenson reprint.

It will be so wonderful to see something besides the Chicago *Tribune*.

LOUIS DANIEL MELNICK
*Downers Grove, Ill.*

### Against UMT

● I liked your "Knights and Knaves in Eisenhower's Great Crusade" (*NR*, July 28), and agree heartily with its general tone and conclusions.

But I want to protest vigorously against the idea now and then running through your editorial that opposition to Universal Military Training is a liability in a candidate. (See Maryland, Rep. Glenn Beall, and Nevada, Sen. George Malone.)

I am a liberal in the tradition of Jefferson, Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt. I am vigorously opposed to Universal Military Training, though I favor the draft. I consider Senator Nixon's (a professed Quaker) support of Universal Military Training a strong point against him. UMT is one of the pitfalls which some liberals seem likely to fall into.

My father left Germany to escape the curse of Universal Military Training. So did thousands of other Europeans. For decades much of Europe groaned under the grievous burden of conscription. Japan also had this curse, which the war-

*(Continued on page 4)*

# Bandwagon

### Closed Shop

She was the wife of the late Oliver J. Maltby who was Postmaster at Oakford. When the Republicans were in office he was postmaster and Mrs. Maltby, who was a Democrat, served when the Democrats were in power. – *From the* Mt. Messenger.

### Fair Enough

The resolution adopted by AMA convention delegates . . . said the AMA should not judge the [President's Commission on Health Needs of the Nation] final report until after it is made next December. – *From the Worcester* Evening Gazette.

### Just Taking It Easy

Rita [Hayworth] has been leading a quiet life and dating bachelors including Gilbert Roland, Kirk Douglas, radio producer Cy Howard and agent Charles Feldman. – *From a UP dispatch.*

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New Republic

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## WASHINGTON WIRE

CYNICAL newsmen covering candidates have the habit of opposing the politician they are with. Perhaps that accounts for the overwhelming preference for Stevenson in the traveling Eisenhower party. A recent poll showed 24 favored Stevenson, seven Eisenhower and six undecided. But a poll on the Stevenson plane also showed Stevenson ahead—19 for him, nine for Eisenhower, seven undecided or not participating. Totaling them, that is 43 to 16. We can't recall such an overwhelming reporters' preference in a quarter-century campaign experience.

Meanwhile, back home, publishers are doggedly for Eisenhower. *Editor and Publisher* reports 80 percent of the press for Ike on the basis of circulation. This is an old story, of course. Publishing is business and the publisher is business-minded. The unfortunate editorial writers ghosting for the publishers are regarded by most reporters as more to be pitied than censured. It is a little discouraging, however, to note as we did on last week's trip with Stevenson how bad the normal newspaper is. This is accompanied by a pathetic feeling among readers that their particular town is unlucky and that other communities are more fortunate. The fact is the whole average is pretty low. It was amusing to run into the same editorial snarl against Adlai's good-natured Portland, Ore., speech in which he twitted the newspapers all across the continent. With a good deal of witty sugar-coating Adlai told some homely truths about American newspapers. There was no factual answer possible—so many papers just snarled. What good is it to have schools of journalism in America if you don't have schools for publishers?

**Stevenson is** a reporter's dream because he is polished, urbane, consistently entertaining and writes his own speeches. He is a Woodrow Wilson with a sense of humor. He has an aristocratic contempt for the ignoble compromises that the unfortunate Ike is making. These have reached a point where they are indeed pretty dreadful. Taft ignored Ike's plaintive telegrams for nine weeks. Meanwhile Ike anxiously told the press that Taft would be one of the "greatest figures" in his administration, and to the dismay of Paul Hoffman and the uncomfortable N. Y. *Times* had a political necking party with the loathesome Senator Jenner, and winked meaningfully at "red light Liz" McCarthy. In his Canadian retreat, meanwhile, Taft coldly told interviewers that the General would have to meet certain conditions for his support.

**What, then,** of Adlai Stevenson? This Western trip was our first close contact with him. He is an extraordinarily gifted man. His knack of felicitous improvisation, when he responds to the chairman's introduction, is remarkable. He wins almost any audience. His San Francisco speech, in which he outlined a generous "New Deal" for Asiatics, showed him far abler than Truman to explain world affairs to perplexed Americans. His Town Hall speech in Los Angeles on the responsibility of business and the citizen for corruption in government was one of the most enthralling we ever heard. It was a largely GOP, businessman audience and there could be no question of his effectiveness. The nation has not seen as sensitive and articulate a Presidential aspirant since Wilson. So much for the credit side.

Let us put the debit side in two parts. The first relates merely to his effectiveness as a campaigner. Aside from certain technical and elementary mistakes on TV which could be easily remedied,

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Stevenson often fails to rouse an audience emotionally. The crowd leaves smiling rather than gritting its teeth. It is their intelligence, not their heart, that has been touched. The practical problem in an apathetic democracy where only 50 percent of the citizens vote is to get the indifferent (largely the lower-income group who are predominantly Democrats) to come to the polls. After the raw pigments of Truman, Stevenson seems like a pastel candidate. And this raises the second question.

**Like Roosevelt,** Stevenson's family background is aristocratic. He is a reformer but chiefly in the sense that he is a humanitarian of integrity who couldn't stand the corrupt Republican Illinois machine. Roosevelt suffered a paralytic stroke that changed his outlook and above all he had Mrs. Roosevelt; he saw the need of sweeping social reform and promptly became a "traitor to his class." By contrast, it is revealing to see Governor Stevenson's North Shore Chicago friends and those in Springfield. He has been the pet of wealthy Republicans as Governor. He values their friendship. He is alone and wife-less in the echoing Governor's mansion.

**Stevenson is** a worrier who will be dead two years after he enters the White House prison if he doesn't remarry. Stevenson has had no emotional experience with poverty, and he does not arouse emotional response when he deals with the problems of the underdog. His alarmingly well-balance Seattle speech on public vs. private power must have sent a chill down the spines of Roosevelt-Truman supporters. A later speech on social legislation only skimmed the surface. Even his answers on Tidelands and Taft-Hartley have been carefully qualified.

We are all for Adlai for President for what he is, for what he may become and for those against him. But sooner or later he must make a heart-breaking decision—whether or not he will be a traitor to his class.

*Springfield, Ill.* T.R.B.

## CORRESPONDENCE

*(Continued from page 2)*

lords there used to grind out freedom. Universal Military Training is one of the great curses which seems to have grown out of the Napoleonic wars. Prussia hatched that evil egg, which was the essence of Prussianism. We helped to destroy this evil in World War I. When Hitler re-established UMT in the Reich, he took a big step toward World War II. The great Methodist Church, I am glad to say, is strongly against Universal Military Training.

I hope that support of Universal Military Training is no part of the policy of the *New Republic*. For liberalism and UMT fight each other like fire and water.

*Chicago, Ill.* EDWARD G. PUNKAY

### A Southerner for FEPC

● In an environment where the advanced type of thinking represented by the *New Republic* on such issues as Civil Rights is not so widespread, it is enlightening to receive my copy each week.

Many Southerners do not understand the world in which they are living today and look upon any kind of human progress with suspicion and even regard it as being "disloyal," because they refuse to budge an inch from where the pioneers stood. The newspapers likewise only record what "we're against" and our Governor relentlessly pictures the Administration as being "evil" and "Socialistic" and uses the "smear method" to promote *fear* because the New and Fair Deal dares to proceed forward in economic and social ideals.

As a lifetime Southerner I want to say that I am not afraid of a militant federal FEPC to end racial discrimination. Do we not legislate morality in the passing of laws that are concerned with murder and theft? . . .

*Port Arthur, Texas* MRS. ELIZABETH DAVIS

### Don't Blame Them

● Astrophysicists say that they are investigating a loud hissing that comes from outer space, presumably from the stars.

Considering the shape the world's affairs are in, who can blame them?

*New York City* R. F. EMERY

### The 1952 Campaign

● Adlai Stevenson gains in stature every time he delivers a campaign speech.

To those of us who had begun to have our doubts about the Stevenson-Sparkman ticket, it now becomes apparent that our fears were without foundation.

. . . Stevenson's remarks to the American Legion and to labor were direct and forceful. He will not be pressured by super-patriotic groups or by management or by labor. He is giving the country a new kind of politician on the national scene, one who is sincere and true to ideas embodied in the Constitution and our history.

Ike means well, but there isn't a man in existence today who could unify the Republican Party. The Republicans all seem to be demanding Ike to support divergent policies or the various "kings" in the GOP will pull out. Ike possibly wishes that these "kings" were colonels and he could make them errand boys. But Ike left all that for the new crusade and he's stuck with Taft, Kem, Malone, Cain, and he must play them up, or they threaten Ike.

A tragedy in politics is taking place because of the GOP policies and past record. However, Ike had months to think it over and now he has to take the consequences.

*Walnut Creek, Calif.* TOM KENDALL

### Prophecy

The Chicago *Sun-Times*, for 20 years a liberal paper, now tip-toes through the daisies with Eisenhower, Nixon, Jenner, Dirksen et al. Herewith my prophetic reply to a recent *Sun-Times* cartoon.

*Valparaiso, Ind.* FINNEY BRIGGS

And the Waters Were Divided

Until November 4

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New Republic

# THE ROADBLOCK TO CAMPAIGN PROMISES

IN CONTRAST to the speeches of the major candidates, the charts of Congressional votes published in this issue seem dull and beside the point. Those who believe that after November all will change will impatiently sweep them aside. Yet these charts represent the actions, not the promises, of the men who hold Congressional power. They will not greatly change, and lacking their approval, the best programs of Stevenson or Eisenhower will lie in Congressional pigeonholes gathering dust.

Stevenson knows this, from his training in Illinois, and if Eisenhower does not, then in the event of his election, he will learn it the hard way.

**For example,** among Eisenhower's many lavish commitments in his Labor Day's promise to 16 million trade-union members that he "will not coerce labor with laws." Labor is now coerced by legislation enacted, principally with Republican votes, by a two-thirds majority overriding a Presidential veto. If Eisenhower is pledging repeal or non-enforcement, he will learn that his party in Congress feels no moral obligation to redeem the pledges he has made. Nor will a Congressional majority of Republicans and Southern Democrats rush to carry out Stevenson's call for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Or consider the question of abandoning national ownership of the nation's offshore oil. If Stevenson is elected, after risking the loss of 64 electoral votes by defying the oil companies and oil politicians of three crucial states, it will probably mark the end of this attempt to steal $50 billion worth of the American people's property. But that will be a reflection of public opinion, not a consequence of Presidential power or party responsibility. Suppose Eisenhower is elected, and continues the political education which taught him, too late, that the proposed transfer of undersea oil from national to state ownership is a maneuver by Congress to override the Supreme Court. Suppose that in his promised crusade for good government he should conclude that there was need to investigate oil-company contributions to Congressional campaign funds during the past eight years. What is there in Presidential power or party responsibility that will give effective force to such a demand? The only crusade that is sure to succeed in a Congress ruled by his party is a crusade against crusades.

The sad truth is that in the United States today we live under a system of government by deadlock. Not only is there a chronic deadlock between President and Congress; the national legislature itself functions, or fails to function, in a state of chronic paralysis broken by spasms of hate and fear—fear of the future, hatred of labor and the foreign born. The majority party in Congress endorses clearcut international policies; domestically it is deeply divided. The minority, becoming geometric in its schizophrenia, now has three factions in foreign affairs; while in the domestic field, negative generalities take the place of policies too regressive to be spelled out.

This governmental deadlock hangs over us at a time when every worldwide and domestic trend piles more and more responsibility on the President and the Congress. Both of our Presidential candidates would like to reverse this trend and shift part of the load to the states (although Stevenson alone seems to realize that state governments will have to be cleansed and strengthened before they can be trusted with greater responsibilities. However, no transfer is possible that will prevent a further increase of power in the federal government. The reason is simple. American industry has become so vast in structure, and so centralized in control, that it will either rule the nation or be ruled by it. The individual states are not big enough to cope with something so much bigger and stronger than themselves. Only after the American people, acting nationally, have established democratic controls over the totalitarian aspects of American industry will the state governments be able to function properly.

**Congress can grow** only in its capabilities, not in size. Today it grows more inefficient with every new function it assumes. The executive branch, however, grows larger with every additional function, and the enlarging process can be reversed only by going back toward the wooden plow and the ox-cart. The real question is whether we are to have a responsible growth of the executive department, under law and discipline, or a dangerous and irresponsible expansion resulting from the failure of the legislative branch to measure up to its responsibilities.

The Constitution recognizes no utterance by the Presi-

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dent except to Congress. Yet the President must speak as President to the people of the United States, and, to all the world. He is head of the party that elected him. He is its executive agent in winning support for programs the party platform may lay forth. He may go beyond the party platforms in interpreting the party's purpose and the national interest, for the President's is the only national voice consistently heard in Washington.

**Contrasting the national** out of the President with the local bondage of the Congressman, the President seems strong and free. So he is, when the alignment is one against one. The President has the same advantage that Gulliver had when he held a single native of Lilliput in his huge hand. But when the Lilliputians combined against him, Gulliver lay motionless. He was tied up, but no more thoroughly than the President is tied up by a Congress which is itself in chains to local and sectional interests and the power of organized lobbies. Except in foreign and military affairs, or in periods of great emergency, the President can do very little except rail at those who thwart him. He cannot, by himself, produce the effective, disciplined action which would come naturally from a political majority, if the majority were effectively organized.

There may have been times when this nation could afford the luxury of deadlock. Today government by deadlock may be suicidal. The roads are endless and obvious by which indecision, inaction and paralysis in our national government can lead to irretrievable disasters for all the free nations. Stevenson's training and ability and Eisenhower's feel for compromise may blunt the harshness of the conflict that threatens us. But personality in the White House is not the answer.

There are many ways of reaching a sound basis for government, although one must be a prophet indeed to visualize all of the good or evil by-products of the various methods:

The Constitution can be revised to establish the paraliamentary and cabinet system, as in England. It can be, but it won't be;

The President and Congress, with terms of office equalized, could be given mutual power to force the holding of a general election. That would preserve the distinctive feature of American government—election of executive and legislature by the people—while picking up the balance and drive of the parliamentary system. However, the American people seem to be too cautious and conservative to make such a change experimentally. For that caution they are not to be condemned;

With no change in the Constitution, a working unity between President and Congress can be established through electoral reform, changes in the rules of Congress and development of party and governmental machinery.

The need is to break the deadlock in favor of national policies, without going so far as to lose the stabilizing influence of cross currents in a federal republic. In a country as large and diverse as the United States, there is virtually no danger of going too far in that direction under our present form of government. There is a much greater likelihood of not going far enough. The deadlock can be broken, *and broken safely*, by combining the following reforms, nearly all of which have been individually called for many times:

Nomination of President and Vice-President in nationwide primaries, and reform of the electoral college by federal law to insure the carrying out of the people's will.

Abolition of the seniority system in Congressional committees.

An end to the Senatorial filibuster.

Establishment of a legislative council, including the President, a portion of his cabinet and leaders of Congress, to act as a legislative steering committee.

Creation of a permanent national party organization, elected, and devoted primarily to contemporary policy-making, free of the four-year catch-all system.

Removal of restrictions on the right to vote, both in law and in practice.

Restoration of the two-party system in the South.

**The key form** is abolition of the seniority system. That would break down despotic individual empires, destroy bipartisan managerial combines and establish party responsibility by removing the only alternative to it. Achieve that and the filibuster would topple at a touch. Add genuine responsibility of all elected officers to the people, and our government would become in fact what our schoolbooks and Gettysburg addresses say it is.

These reforms, so urgently required, can only be brought about through popular pressure. Congress will not willingly reform itself or restrict its own veto powers. The President, whose national outlook should lead him to favor reform, cannot enter into a dispute with Congress unless he is supported by unprecedented popular feeling. This feeling can be achieved either through political education or in the wake of national disaster. Education, to be effective, would have to be so far-reaching as to constitute in itself a revolution in American politics. If we wait for disaster to inspire the change, the result is likely to be something far more drastic and less desirable.

*This editorial is contributed by the well-known historian, Irving Brant.*

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# THE WEEK

## PRESSURES IN LOS ANGELES

"Your two minutes are up, Jew," said one of the Liberty Belles.

A member of the Women's Division of B'Nai B'rith was attempting to address a stormy meeting of the Los Angeles Board of Education to present a two-minute argument in favor of integrating UNESCO subject matter into the school curriculum.

The Board of Education was holding a series of meetings to determine whether a study course consisting of teachers' guides demonstrating how to integrate UNESCO subject matter with other courses was subversive. This study course had been a part of the school curriculum until last January when, because of pressure from a small but highly vocal group led by one Miss Florence Lyons, it was withdrawn for study.

In addition to the Women's Division of B'nai B'rith, the Parent-Teacher Association, Greater Los Angeles Council of the CIO, American Friends Committee, Parents for Better Schools and other women's organizations urged the board to reinstate UNESCO in the schools. A committee from the school system's curriculum division recommended that the Board approve use of the UNESCO material..

The storminess of the meetings was caused by the booing, hissing, jeering anti-UNESCO cohorts consisting of the Liberty Belles, DAR, American Legion and other patriotic organizations, as well as a group known as American Public Relations Forum, Inc. According to Mrs. Stephanie Williams, founder and president of the American Public Relations Forum, Inc., one of its members, Florence Lyons, brought pressure to bear on the Board of Education.

American Public Relations Forum, Inc., is an organization of Catholic women for the study and discussion of political questions. It was founded by Mrs. Williams with the express approval of the Los Angeles Archdiocese Chancery Office, which assigned Msgr. Wade, then Secretary to the Archbishop, as chaplain for the group. Most of its members belong to the Liberty Belles and are supporters of MacArthur.

When Mrs. Williams appeared at the Board of Education hearings, it was not only to oppose UNESCO but to warn us that in order to get rid of UNESCO we must get out of the United Nations. In support of her contention she exhibited two flags, one that of the United Nations and the other of the Soviet Union, pointing out supposed similarities.

This crusade has received valuable assistance from Dr. William Lawlor, Grand Knight of the La Crescenta Valley Council, Knights of Columbus. Dr. Lawlor and Mrs. Williams have made radio and television appearances demanding that UNESCO be kept out of the public schools.

Yet a curious anomaly is that neither Dr. Lawlor's nor Mrs. Williams' children attend the public schools. Their children are being educated in the parochial schools. Los Angeles public-school children are subjected to censorship of a group of Catholics who have no connection with the school system.

Mrs. Williams lists as her reasons for opposing UNESCO: "It is subversive, it teaches one world government, it is opposed to religious schools, it advocates birth control, and it is against the Catholic way of life."

That most of the people who send their children to the public schools are opposed to religious schools, believe in birth control and are not particularly interested in the Catholic way of life is of no concern to these crusaders.

Using Fascist tactics, calling their opponents "Jews" and "Communists," they persuaded the unprotesting Board of Education to forbid the teaching of UNESCO in the Los Angeles schools.

At last reports, Mrs. Williams was busy sending material to San Francisco, where, she reports, the *Call-Bulletin* is planning a crusade and where a branch of the American Public Relations Forum, Inc., is ready to go into action.

## IMPETUS AT STRASSBURG

With the announcement that the Assembly of the European Iron and Coal Authority has transformed itself into a temporary constitutional committee for the drafting of a constitution for a Federated Europe, a pronounced shift has taken place in the main effort toward a United Europe. In their overwhelming vote endorsing the proposal, the Assembly's delegates said in effect that the "functional approach" to European union is not enough. Europeans cannot get aroused over technical discussions about the amalgamation of French and German coal production.

It is in response to the popular demand that efforts for unification be carried forward simultaneously on the crucial political level, that they voted to start now on the difficult task of evoluing an organizational framework and a set of principles to which all New Europeans can subscribe.

The plan for action on the constitutional front was drawn up by the Authority's Council of Ministers which represents the governments of the six nations participating in the Schuman Plan. As interpreted by Paul-Henri Spaak, the Assembly president, the ministers' resolution invited all delegates to the Assembly to assume a dual role as constitution-makers. To this invitation all but the German Socialists responded in the affirmative. Now under the leadership of Spaak, the 78 representatives at Strassburg are buckled to the job of getting the federal constitution written.

However, the calling of a constitutional committee is a gamble. A big gap of restrictionist legislation and isolationist national feeling still lies between the high-water mark of European accomplishment, as exemplified in "functional" agencies such as the Schuman Authority and the European Defense Community, and the sort of international rapport and identity of interests necessary for the creation of a common government.

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## EISENHOWER MOVES RIGHT

THE RADICAL right-wing of the Republican Party, so badly crushed and beaten at the Chicago convention, has shown remarkable powers of recuperation. It has now moved back into its own and taken its just place as a dominant influence in the campaign of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower.

It had to come. General Eisenhower simply had not electrified the nation, as his advance men had promised. People are not against virtue and love of country, but they don't seem over-impressed by a high-minded politician and General who is inclined to talk about nothing else. The drift of Eisenhower to the right, if he stays put, will at least clear up the middle-of-the-road fog. It should mean more Republican fire and less sweetness and light from the halting crusade of the General.

**You could see** the change coming. In Cleveland, Eisenhower was almost wistful in his plea for Senator Taft and his supporters to get into the crusade, as the equals of the high-minded men around the General. The next day in Indianapolis the fraternization advanced a step. Eisenhower unhappily embraced, as a member of his team, Senator Jenner, a right-wing radical who has described General Marshall (one of Eisenhower's household gods) as "a living lie" and as "a front man for traitors."

This was not a happy job for Eisenhower. But in his failure to galvanize the voters into a non-partisan frenzy, there still remained the problem of getting elected President, so Eisenhower took one manly gulp and swallowed Jenner, with the observation to a cheering audience at Butler University that "we want independent minds (in the GOP) and men who speak their minds." Further, the General said, "the people of each state are the best judges of the individuals they want to represent their party."

Eisenhower showed some distaste for the political dish he accepted in Indianapolis. He tried to avoid being photographed in loving embrace with Jenner, but lost to the aggressiveness of the Senator, who pursued the nominee across the platform, put a mild armlock on him and then happily told the photographers to shoot. Jenner, it should be observed, had no more warmth for Eisenhower than Eisenhower had for him. But the Senator is practical. The polls in Indiana indicate that Jenner is not too strong, and he was looking for every boost that he could get.

On the same night, the returns from the Wisconsin Republican primary showed that Joe McCarthy was still stronger than pig iron, and that not many of his constituents were as bitter as Eisenhower about Joe's savage treatment of General Marshall and others. The General did not comment on McCarthy's resounding victory in Wisconsin, but what he had already said about the judgment of the people in Indiana automatically applied to Wisconsin voters.

The final swing to the Right was taken when Senator Taft flew to New York, spent two hours with Eisenhower in the latter's home on Morningside Heights, and laid down the set of conditions under which he would agree to try to stir his followers out of their post-convention stupor.

Taft emerged beaming from his conference with the nominee, and with some relish read the list of conditions to which the General had agreed. The most important of the promises made by Eisenhower was that there would be no discrimination against Taft supporters if the General were elected. "I have been concerned about the attitude of those who apparently are urging that we should eliminate from all activity many of those who have been the most active workers for Republican principles in recent years, and who make up at least one-half of the Republican Party," Taft said. "General Eisenhower stated without qualification that in the making of appointments at high levels or low levels there will be no discrimination against anyone because he or she has supported me, and that he is determined to maintain the unity of the entire party by taking counsel with all factions and points of view."

If ever a "defeated" candidate for the Presidential nomination in any party won such a concession publicly from the successful nominee, it eludes this writer's memory. This is a far cry from 1948, when the Dewey people told Taft they didn't want or need his help.

**Senator Taft also pinned** General Eisenhower down on the Taft-Hartley Act, probably more precisely than the poor candidate realizes. Earlier in the week, at a press conference in Cleveland, a reporter asked Eisenhower if he had at that time any views about the use of the injunction in labor law. Eisenhower started to say that he didn't see how you could drive free men back to their jobs with a law, and then suddenly took refuge in his own innocent unawareness of the world about him. He wound up by saying that he didn't know enough about injunctions to talk about the subject.

But Eisenhower is now on record specifically in support of the basic provisions of the Taft-Hartley law, each of which has the power of injunction built in. Taft very carefully had spelled out the separate provisions of the law in outlining the things to which Eisenhower had subscribed. Taft also drew from Eisenhower the promise that he would not countenance an amendment authorizing plant seizure in a national emergency without special legislation.

Eisenhower not only accepted the general principles of the Taft wing of the Republican Party. He let himself be nailed down on the specific phases of the Taft-Hartley Act, about which, by his own admission, he knew nothing five days before.

*New York City* EDWIN A. LAHEY

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# EUROPE COOLS TOWARD IKE

THE WESTERN European attitude toward the US Presidential campaign has gone through five fairly distinct phases since early summer. This is less a suggestion of capriciousness or changeability than a confirmation—if any were really needed—of an intense and relatively well-informed interest, entirely unprecedented in the modern history of Europe-US relations on the popular level.

**Before** the Republican Convention there was widespread concern lest the nomination make a return to isolation in US foreign policy an issue of partisan controversy. Only the Communists, the neo-Fascists, some of the neutralists and men of the various lunatic fringes favored Taft.

The choice of General Eisenhower, despite reservations about his political experience and temperamental fitness for high civilian office, was hailed with relief largely because his election would mean that the US would continue to play not only an active but a moderate and realistic part in world affairs. And the fact that the US had, in becoming the major power of the free world, given up aloofness and taken the responsibilities of such a part was widely considered the most important single development in world affairs in this century.

The choice of Governor Stevenson at the Democratic Convention was equally welcome, partly because the press and radio correspondents who presented him to Europeans liked him at least as well as his opponent. When excerpts of his fine prose style were read, they seemed to bring a new and welcome note into US political campaigns, a change from what an English newspaper called "the exuberance, the love of publicity, and the apparent addiction to extreme courses" that often frighten European friends of the US.

During the fourth phase, the period between the end of the Chicago tumults and the speeches before the American Legion in New York, Eisenhower seemed more and more disappointing, Stevenson by contrast a gratifying revelation. The London *Observer* reported that the Governor's support was "mounting quite dramatically." The *Times* said, with typically British overtones, that though the overwhelming support given to the General by the US press might not necessarily be fatal "history suggests that it is a grave disadvantage." It also thought that it would be rank sabotage on the part of the General's managers if they let him get involved "in single combat before the television camera with anyone as articulate as Stevenson."

The *Monde* of Paris thought the General "proves every day more that he is really the prisoner of the Old Guard." And the *Figaro*, the most pro-US among Paris newspapers, decided:

> Eisenhower is more vulnerable than Stevenson, mortally vulnerable, according to those who see him as both the prisoner and the victim of a party whose global unpopularity can neutralize and finally engulf the personal popularity of its candidate.

**During this period too,** a factor which detracted from European confidence in Eisenhower, a man who had won greater popularity than any American since FDR, was the growing impression that the Dulles Doctrine, described at the GOP convention as "liberation, not containment" and written into the party platform, might not remain Platonic, a bit of campaign excess, but instead be taken seriously. Seldom has a statement by a leading American—not excluding some by General MacArthur and Senators McCarthy and McCarran—been so universally criticized in almost all responsible newspapers in all the Western European countries as Eisenhower's speech before the American Legion. Perhaps the most carefully restrained comment was made by the *Times*:

> . . . to list as irredenta vast areas of Europe and Asia, and to advocate telling the Soviet Government "with cold finality" that "we shall never recognize the slightest permanence" in its position there, raises doubts about the manner in which General Eisenhower would really like American foreign policy to be conducted. There have been many occasions in the past when American governments have taken up rigid and wholly sincere moral positions, refusing to recognize indubitable situations of fact, but such refusals have rarely been fruitful in their outcome.

**The opinion,** widely held after Stevenson's nomination, that two excellent men now faced each other and that, with the victory of either, neither Europe nor European co-operation with the US could lose, disappeared. This was true because the basic problem of that co-operation is making Western Europeans aware that the goals of US policy are not only just but also attainable without war; and that the sacrifices demanded of them are not only equitable but reasonably geared to the evolving dynamics of power.

Of course, the Europeans were aware that US campaign oratory has its own rules, and not those of statesmanship. It is a tribute to most European newspapers that they stressed this point. But the fact which opened the fifth and present phase in the evolution of the European attitude toward the election, which tended to decrease fear and restore confidence, was the reaction of the US press and public opinion. This was reported not only to the equally critical but also to stress many of the same points as those made in Western Europe.

Thus, the short-lived crisis may have served the good purpose of bringing closer together, to better mutual understanding and sympathy, the moderate elements of public opinion on both sides of the Atlantic. Yet it needs to be said that General Eisenhower probably will never again be, as he was, the living symbol and expression of the warmest and firmest ties between Western Europe and the US.

And if he is to win back what he, and the US, lost, he must, in the European view, escape from the influence not only of the GOP Old Guard but also of John Foster Dulles, who over here is believed to have been responsible for some of the most unfortunate parts of the American Legion speech.

*Rome* PERCY WINNER

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# HOW McCARTHY SOLD WISCONSIN

by Graham Hovey

WHEN IT became apparent that Joseph R. McCarthy was headed for lop-sided victory in Wisconsin's record-breaking Senatorial primary election last week, his chief Republican opponent, Leonard F. Schmitt, offered this analysis:

"I think," said Schmitt, "that Wisconsin people are voting against Stalin."

That explanation has stood up better than any other in the discussion-packed days that have followed McCarthy's record-breaking performance. Almost all Wisconsin political observers, whatever their own views, have finally come around to that conclusion.

**What Schmitt meant** and what the political experts mean when they say Wisconsin voted against Stalin can be summed up this way:

As of now, Joe McCarthy has succeeded in selling himself to most voters of his state as the real champion of the fight against Communism at home and abroad;

He has succeeded to an amazing degree in equating opposition to himself with pro-Communism;

He has posed successfully before Wisconsin voters as the victim of a Communist-inspired smear, rather than as the habitual user of Communist-type smear techniques.

How has McCarthy managed all this? How has he managed to sell Wisconsin voters on the notion that there was only the simple issue—Joe McCarthy or Joe Stalin—in the primary?

If Democrats, anti-McCarthy Republicans (there are some) and independent voters had an answer they could trust for that question, they might be less glum as they try to figure out strategy for their next shot at McCarthy in the general election, now only seven weeks off. As it is, much of McCarthy's opposition is still in a shell-shocked state over the astonishing proportions of the Senator's primary victory. This air of defeatism is the first of several major problems the Democratic nominee for Senator, Thomas E. Fairchild, must overcome in a hurry if he is to have any chance against McCarthy November 4. Fairchild, former Wisconsin Attorney General and US District Attorney, who won the Democratic nomination by less than 3,000 votes over Henry S. Reuss, Milwaukee lawyer, certainly has his work cut out for him.

The stark figures of the primary furnish the best indication. With scattered precincts still unreported, 966,000 Wisconsin residents had voted—a figure more than 300,000 higher than the previous primary record for the state, established in 1940. No one doubts that McCarthy was the major reason for the record turnout. He got nearly 540,000 votes, or 100,000 more than the combined total of his five Republican and two Democratic opponents. His winning total was some 440,000 higher than that which won the Democratic nomination for Fairchild, and 350,000 greater than the combined Fairchild-Reuss vote. He swamped Len Schmitt, who waged one of the most vigorous campaigns in Wisconsin political history and gained nationwide attention through his radio "talkathons" by more than two and one-half to one. And, finally, Fairchild must ponder the fact that the supposedly rejuvenated Wisconsin Democratic Party polled only 20 percent of the total vote, contrasted with 30 percent in the Senatorial primary of 1950.

That percentage drop is explained to a large extent by the fact that many who usually vote Democratic in November took advantage of the open character of Wisconsin's primary system to cross over and mark the Republican side of the ballot. Democratic leaders had made a strenuous effort to persuade party members not to do this, even to help Schmitt against McCarthy, because they feared the psychological result for November of a small Democratic vote in September. Now they must face the most unpalatable political fact of all, which is that many Democrats crossed over to the Republican ballot not to vote against McCarthy but to help nominate him.

**Careful political analysts** agree that there is no other way to explain McCarthy's impressive showing in areas which normally go solidly Democratic, such as Milwaukee, Dane (Madison), and Kenosha counties. A Milwaukee *Journal* breakdown showed, for example, that in normally Democratic West Allis, site of the Allis-Chalmers manufacturing plant, McCarthy got 4,468 votes to 2,443 for Schmitt. Fairchild and Reuss together got only about 5,500 votes despite vigorous efforts by CIO officials to persuade union members to remain in the Democratic primary.

The size of McCarthy's vote and the apparent Democratic contributions to it in key areas are not Fairchild's only problems by any means. His eleventh-hour decision to enter the race for the Democratic nomination angered the followers of both Reuss and Schmitt. For months Reuss had the Democratic field entirely to himself. Last spring, however, Democrats and some Independents began to put pressure on Fairchild, who had given the

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party its only victory for statewide office in 14 years by winning election as Attorney General in 1948, and who had made a respectable run against Republican Senator Wiley two years ago. After a period of indecision comparable to that undergone by Governor Stevenson with regard to the Democratic Presidential nomination, Fairchild announced in May that he would not run, but would continue his work as US Attorney.

Just before the deadline for filing in July, Fairchild changed his mind. He did so because he had concluded that even with some help from Democrats Schmitt had no chance to beat McCarthy in the Republican primary, and that the Reuss campaign was not catching on to a degree that promised victory in November. Although a modest man, Fairchild came around to a view long held by many Democrats and some Republicans: he would be the strongest available candidate against McCarthy; to remain on the sidelines under the circumstances might contribute substantially to the Senator's re-election.

**It is understandable** that Reuss and Schmitt would disagree with Fairchild's analysis and resent his late entry. But some of their followers felt it necessary to charge Fairchild publicly with "political opportunism" and a "double-cross." There will have to be some top-level diplomacy practiced here if the primary scars are healed in time to mount a united, all-out campaign against McCarthy. Reuss and Fairchild launched the effort in the presence of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt at a Democratic dinner in Milwaukee the night after the primary. Reuss promised to spend "all the energy I have left" to help elect the state Democratic slate, including Fairchild. Fairchild said that Reuss in every way had been "an honorable opponent." Schmitt too, has promised to campaign for Fairchild.

But many persons are asking: even if the primary scars are healed; even if Fairchild gets vigorous support from those who backed Reuss and those who voted on the Republican ballot for Schmitt, is there any real chance to beat McCarthy in November? People voted for McCarthy in record numbers in the primary despite the tireless campaigning of Len Schmitt, the 10-month stumping of Reuss and the brief but vigorous effort by Fairchild; despite the long anti-McCarthy editorial campaigns of the Milwaukee *Journal* and William T. Evjue's *Capital-Times* of Madison; despite the hard work put in by two bipartisan groups called Citizens Against McCarthy and Wisconsin Citizens' Committee on McCarthy's Record. What basis is there for hoping that Wisconsin's political climate can be changed between now and November 4?

Wisconsin Democratic leaders say there is a chance—and they seem to mean it. They point out first of all that Fairchild and Reuss together polled 189,000 votes, the highest total ever recorded for a Wisconsin Democratic Senatorial primary. James E. Doyle, State Chairman of the Democratic Organizing Committee, points out that McCarthy's margin over the field—five Republicans and two Democrats—was in the ratio of five to four and he believes Fairchild has a good chance to capture most of the 440,000 votes cast for someone other than the Senator. At rock bottom, Doyle figures Fairchild is a cinch to get nearly all the 211,000 votes cast for Len Schmitt, in addition to the 93,000 cast for Reuss. Thus, he believes that at the very worst, Fairchild will start the campaign with something like a 60-to-40 handicap, and he does not regard this as insurmountable.

Democrats like to point out that many of their number who fail to show up in the primary manage somehow to come out of the woods in time to vote in November. In that connection, they cite the fact that Fairchild got only 58,000 votes in the 1950 primary, but polled 515,000 against Wiley that November. They recall that Wisconsin has been carried by the Democratic candidate for President in four out of the last five elections, including 1948. They believe Governor Stevenson will make it five out of six and that his campaign will help the whole state ticket, but particularly Fairchild.

Finally, the Wisconsin Democratic leaders believe that in Tom Fairchild they have a candidate most likely to command the votes of independents and anti-McCarthy Republicans which will be necessary to win in November. The name Fairchild is an illustrious one in Wisconsin political history, particularly on the Republican side.

**Fairchild himself furnishes** the most striking contrast imaginable to Joe McCarthy. He is scholarly, quiet, mild-mannered much of the time, but a tough fighter when aroused. He leaves much to be desired as a political orator, mostly because he has not an ounce of political ham in his makeup, not a demagogic hair on his head, but does have a scrupulous regard for the facts. He is a student of the law whose conduct of the office of state Attorney-General won commendation even from the staunchly-Republican Wisconsin *State Journal* and Hearst's Milwaukee *Sentinel*. He would be more at home on the bench of a court of justice than on the floor of the US Senate, though his friends believe he would be a great Senator. His record is liberal and he has supported the Democratic program, but because of his temperament he almost certainly would emerge as an independent not long after he had taken his Senate seat.

This is the young man who will carry the fight against McCarthyism into the November election. No one knows better than he the uphill character of the fight he is undertaking. He thinks he has a chance. He might be right.

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# SOUTH AFRICA: THE ROAD TO CIVIL WAR

by C. W. M. Gell

THE CRISIS in South Africa has now resolved itself into as pure a case of government by law versus government by force as recent history has seen. Hitler had a legal cloak for his seizure of power in Germany; the South African Prime Minister, D. F. Malan now has none. He was rebuked by the Supreme Court when he tried to push through his unconstitutional disenfranchisement of the Cape Colored in the Spring. When he and his Nationalist Party then set up a parliamentary super-court, that contrived institution was also declared illegal by the courts. If they are allowed now to solidify their plans to win a rigged election in 1953, through the abolition of the Native Representatives and the increase in the "loading" in favor of the Nationalist-dominated rural constituencies, they will have achieved their one-party dictatorship.

**The Nationalists want** this not only because they have an appetite for power nor even mainly because of the powerful emotional residue of the Anglo-Boer wars with their deliberately stimulated legacy of historical grievances. In any case the Nationalists only represent two-thirds of the Afrikaner people. More fundamental than either of these reasons is the Nationalist attitude to color. It demands the perpetuation at all costs of the *baasskap*—the master-servant relationship between white and black by uncompromising white political, social and economic supremacy as justified by Genesis IX, 25 and Joshua IX, 23-27. The Christianity of the Dutch Reformed Churches is Calvinist and fundamentalist, leaning more heavily upon the patriarchal doctrines of the Old Testament than the ethical inspiration of the New. Although nine-tenths of the Opposition Europeans also favor the maintenance of white supremacy, they lack the fanatical ideology and practical intolerance which distinguish Nationalism.

But, since action always provokes reaction, four years of Nationalist rule and its aggressive racial ethic have produced the first tentative signs of a united non-European front. In January the African National Congress, supported by the South African Indian Congress, warned Prime Minister Malan that its members would resort to passive disobedience unless discriminatory laws were repealed by the end of February.

In his reply, dated January 29, Malan advised the Congress to devote itself to the development of the Bantu "in their own sphere" and warned it that he would use the full rigor of the law against law-breakers. He pointed out with justice that certain apparently discriminatory laws fostered the true interests of the Bantu. He said that in no circumstances would the government give non-Europeans administrative powers over Europeans or repeal "the long-existing laws differentiating between Europeans and Bantu." He then went on:

> It is self-contradictory to claim as an inherent right of the Bantu, who differ in many ways from the Europeans, that they should be regarded as not different, especially when it is borne in mind that these differences are permanent and not man-made.
>
> If this is a matter of indifference to you and if you do not value your racial characteristics, you cannot in any case dispute the Europeans' right which, in this case, is definitely an inherent right, to take the opposite view and to adopt the necessary measures to preserve their identity as a separate community.

This passage is typical of the arrogance and insensitivity of the Nationalist attitude to colored peoples whose deputations they will not meet personally. There are tremendous differences between black and white in South Africa, not merely of pigmentation, but of cultural development and background. But to claim that these are permanent and God-given is to fly in the face of all the evidence of the progress made by Negroes in America and elsewhere, and of the opinion of the UNESCO scientists that all races are equally "educable." And, even if Dr. Malan's propositions were scientifically admissible, is it decent or wise to reprove the Africans for failing to value those very characteristics which, in Dr. Malan's view, condemn them to perpetual subservience?

**In one respect** Dr. Malan was right. He regarded the African National Congress' warning as "an attempt to embark on the first steps toward supplanting European rule." If the Europeans will not budge an inch toward offering Africans, Indians and Coloreds some reasonable hope of political economic advance as their cultural standards improve, unyielding white nationalism will soon be confronted by implacable black nationalism. This, with the whites outnumbered four to one (a disparity which increases annually), can have only one result—the expulsion of Europeans from South Africa; and that would be a tragedy for both white and black, who need and desire white leadership for a long time yet.

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Those of us who have seen in India and elsewhere how quickly a common hatred can overcome disunity and breed tenacity, how surely racial arrogance, persecution and repression infuse a common cause with the martyr's zeal and the enthusiasm of self-sacrifice, can have few illusions about the growth of the movement whose birth we are watching. If its conception is Mahatma Gandhi's, its midwives are the Nationalist arch-priests of "white civilization" though this is not the child they thought to produce. Neither the history of Boer nor Bantu encourages hope that it will long follow the pacific precepts of Gandhi.

The Congresses have now appealed for a million shillings and 10,000 volunteers to begin passive disobedience against discriminatory laws. A meeting was to have been held at the end of May to plan the campaign. But the government struck first. It has named many of the African and Indian leaders as Communists, ordered them to resign from all public offices, abstain from all public meetings and remain within the borders of their own home province. This must disrupt and delay the campaign of passive resistance, though in the long run such measures usually have a boomerang effect.

**Now it may be a fact** that many of these men are active Communists. Heaven knows, they have had enough provocation. But included in the purge were several European Trade Union officials, some of whom were almost certainly not Communists in the non-Malan sense of the word but were notorious opponents of the governments's racial policies. The best known was E. S. Sachs, who was expelled from the Communist Party in 1931 and has been General Secretary of the Garment Workers Union for 24 years. His case is the more glaring because the Nationalists have been trying for years to get him out and win control of this important union with a preponderantly Afrikaner membership.

Sachs defied the government's order and addressed a public meeting of his union members on the steps of the City Hall in Johannesburg. The meeting was broken up by the police with quite unnecessary but not uncharacteristic savagery. Many people, mostly women, were injured and Sachs arrested. Since Sachs had already disobeyed the order on at least one previous occasion and had announced his intention of repeating the offense on this, it would have been easy to have arrested him quietly. The conclusion that the government deliberately intended to make a demonstration of force is inescapable and accords with Nationalist mentality. But this calculated brutality has stimulated rather than cowed opposition, both in the Trade Unions and outside, as anyone less maladroit than the Minister of Justice might have expected.

The Suppression of Communism Act, under which these orders were passed, reveals the temper of the government more clearly than any other of its legislation. White South Africa is unanimously anti-Communist. But the act has two serious defects. In the first place, a "named" person has no opportunity of defending himself in the courts. The evidence against him is collected by a special branch of the police and submitted to an official with the sinister title of liquidator. He informs the suspect (without disclosing the evidence or witnesses) that he proposes to "name" him. The suspect may produce counter-evidence (still without knowing what he has to contradict) and the final decision is then taken by the Liquidator and the Minister of Interior, who need never justify their actions to parliament, the courts or the public. Secondly, the definition of Communist—"anyone who has ever advocated, advised, defended or encouraged the achievement of any of the objects of Communism"—is so wide and vague that it can be used to proscribe not merely anyone who played with Communism in his youth and later renounced it, but even anyone who advocates the gradual elimination of racial discrimination. Communism has no monopoly of its "objects" in this respect. And when the present writer wrote to this effect in a Johannesburg newspaper, he was immediately interrogated by the police special branch about his own antecedents, associates, activities etc. Nationalists have long used the words *Communist* and *liberal* synonymously, because both stand for resolute opposition to illiberal racial policies. Only by public trial of the accused can the government show that it is using the act legitimately against genuine Communists, and not indiscriminately against its political opponents, white and colored. Nothing in the government's past record entitles it to the benefit of the doubt where personal liberties and racial questions are concerned.

**There are thus** two vital issues confronting the European electorate of South Africa. It has immediately to overthrow—constitutionally, if so permitted—the crypto-Fascist Nationalist Government and then make the Union's Constitution proof against any repetition of the events of the last two years. The long-term issue is the solution of the problem of white-colored relations and the evolution of a multi-racial society. Nationalist bad faith, callousness and provocation, and the immense impetus which the government's extreme policies have given to the cause of non-European unity against the Europeans have left dangerously little margin of time or goodwill. And in fairness it must be conceded that, whereas the Nationalists have a racial policy, its opponents have not. Mere muddling through will not save South Africa from the whirlwind the Nationalists have sown.

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# A LOOK AT THE RECORD

"THE FUNCTION of the President in our system," as one respected political scientist has defined it, "is . . . somehow or other to promote the public welfare amid the mosaic of conflicting interests represented in Congress." The conflict of interests in the 82nd Congress proved so great that President Truman found it harder than at any time in the last six years to promote the general welfare through legislation. The 82nd Congress approved only 37 percent of the recommendations made to it by the President, as compared with 44.1 percent of Truman's requests acted upon by the 81st Congress. Except on matters of foreign policy, the 82nd was a deadlock Congress.

Yet the record of this last Congress is the best guide to what we may expect from the next one.

**As a guide** for voters in measuring individual members of Congress and comparing the two parties, the *New Republic* has selected 15 key issues in the Senate and 16 in the House. On the following pages, we record these votes by pluses and minuses, as, in our opinion, indicating a vote for or against liberalism.

On the *New Republic's* key votes in the Senate only 12 Senators scored 100 percent—Democratic Senators Hill (Ala.), Benton (Conn.), Moody (Mich.), Humphrey (Minn.), Murray (Mont.), Lehman (N. Y.), Green (R. I.), Kefauver (Tenn.), Magnuson (Wash.), Kilgore and Neely (W. Va.) and Republican Senator Morse (Ore.). Six other Senators, all Democrats, scored only one minus vote out of 15.

Twelve Senators, all Republicans, are recorded as voting wrong, or against liberalism, on all 15 of the key issues. Another 12 Senators, again all Republicans, voted right, for liberalism, on only one out of the 15 roll-calls. Thirteen of these 24 Republicans at the lowest end of the Senate voting spectrum come from the Middlewest. All of them are identified in Republican politics as Taft men or neutrals within the GOP; only one Eisenhower supporter, Carlson of Kansas, is among them. Five of the 10 key committee chairmen who would come to power in a Republican-controlled Congress are in this group.

Thus in the 82nd Congress, there were less than 20 Senators whose votes displayed consistent support of the liberal position, while 24 Senators consistently ignored social and world responsibility. Fortunately the chance exists of achieving a more co-operative Congress for either Stevenson or Eisenhower, for a greater proportion of this die-hard wing—11 out of the 24—of the GOP is up for election this year than of either the moderate or the neutral faction of the party.

The line-up in the lower house in the 82nd Congress shows the same general proportion of strength at the two extremes. Sixty-six Representatives, 64 Democrats and two Republicans (Javits, N. Y., and Case, N. J.), voted on the liberal side in every one of the 16 key roll-calls. It is interesting to note that 30 of these 64 Democrats represent big city districts. Twenty-three House members, 22 Democrats and one Republican (Bakewell, Mo.), scored a plus vote on 15 out of the 16, making a total of 89 Representatives, almost all from big city and labor districts, who regularly supported the liberal position.

Forty-three Representatives, 41 Republicans and two Democrats (Wheeler, Ga., Ikard, Tex.), voted wrong on every one of the 16 key votes. Twelve of the 41 GOP die-hards in the House come from Illinois and seven from Michigan. Forty-seven other House members, 33 Republicans and 14 Democrats cast only one plus vote out of 16.

Absenteeism increased in the 82nd Congress. The attendance record in the Senate for 1952 fell as low as

## WHAT VOTES TO SPARE?

### *A. The House*

What percent of Democratic House votes were cast in support of a positive foreign policy? How many Republican votes opposed selective economic controls legislation? What is the degree of party support in the House for social security and other welfare measures? Through a statistical analysis of the votes cited on the following pages the *New Republic* arrived at party percentages which give a revealing over-all picture of the degree of Democratic and GOP support and opposition in the three major fields in which the 82nd Congress legislated.

| | Foreign Policy | | Controls, Taxes, Labor | | Social Welfare | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | + | — | + | — | + | — |
| Democrats | 75% | 25% | 70% | 30% | 60% | 40% |
| Republicans | 25% | 75% | 23% | 77% | 17% | 83% |
| Total Average* | 51% | 49% | 47% | 53% | 38% | 62% |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Overall GOP Record | 2,302 (—) votes 78.6% | 626 (+) votes 21.4% |
| Overall Democrat Record | 1,029 (—) votes 33.1% | 2,076 (+) votes 66.9% |

*To arrive at "Total Average" figures, party averages were "weighted" to allow for Democratic majorities.

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36 percent among Republicans and 50 percent among Democrats, and attendance percentages in the House for this year went as low as 24 percent among Democrats and 46 percent among Republicans. Absenteeism caused some crucial defeats for the Truman program.

The most important single fact about the 82nd Congress, however, was the prevailing power of the coalition of right-wing Republicans and Southern Democrats. This alliance of forces, which has almost steadily gained in strength since 1938, frequently controlled the House and Senate this year. President Truman's failure to enact the greater part of his program outside the field of foreign policy is attributable in large measure to a bloc of 35 Southern Democrats who, according to *Congressional Quarterly* tabulations of party unity, voted with the Republicans in the 82nd Congress more often than they did with their own Party's majority. During the two sessions, the Democrats lost on 59 of the 107 House votes that were matters of party issue.

On the Senate side, the Democrats held from two to four more seats than the Republicans at various times during the last Congress. This margin would have assured a victory on every one of the 119 party-line roll-call votes taken if the Democrats had stuck together and kept the number of their absentees below that of the Republicans. But because of defections the Democrats were defeated on almost half of the 119 party tests.

The chart below and that on page 14 detail the result in broad outline.

## A FEW VOTES—THE WORLD OF A DIFFERENCE

### B. The Senate

**How does the Senate compare with the House in support of foreign policy? Among Democrats? Among Republicans? How do Republican Senators compare with GOP Representatives in their support of controls and labor legislation? By what margin, on the average, do the obstructionists win their victories in this area? Is the Senate any more favorably inclined toward welfare legislation than is the House? Analysis of the roll-calls recorded on the following pages points up the areas where the defeat of a few bad Senators or the election of a few more good ones can make a great difference in the total achievement of the next Congress.**

| | Foreign Policy | | Controls, Taxes, Labor | | Social Welfare | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | + | — | + | — | + | — |
| Democrats | 83% | 17% | 64% | 36% | 59% | 41% |
| Republicans | 20% | 80% | 33% | 67% | 20% | 80% |
| Total Average* | 52% | 48% | 49% | 51% | 41% | 59% |
| Overall GOP Record | 429 (—) votes | 78.7% | 116 (+) votes | 21.3% | | |
| Overall Democrat Record | 210 (—) votes | 33.1% | 424 (+) votes | 66.9% | | |

Judging by the percentage division of the parties for and against liberal proposals, the election of a Republican-controlled 83rd Congress would mean far less support for international programs advocated by General Eisenhower than existed in the last Congress, as well as far less economic control and social-welfare legislation.

Eisenhower's influence on Congress would suffer from the fact that many of the GOP's new Senate candidates are closer to the Taft faction of the Republican Party than to the moderates (*e. g.* Pat Hurley, N. Mex., Charles Potter, Mich., Chapman Revercomb, W. Va., Glenn Beall, Md., and Frank Barrett, Wyo., the last four of whom have bad records in the House or Senate behind them). They hold no promise of added strength for Eisenhower. On domestic policy, the General has repeatedly stated that he would let the impetus for such legislation come from Congress; the sad result is foreseeable.

**The election of more** Democratic Senators and Representatives from the North and West might accompany election of Stevenson as President. Judging by past Democratic percentages, this would insure strong support of Stevenson's international program, liberalize economic policies and improve the chances for passage of new social legislation. However, Democratic control of the 83rd Congress would not clear away all the road blocks of the 82nd Congress. Only three of the 12 Senators who have all minus, or anti-liberal, records and only 10 of the 24 Senators with the worst records are before the voters in 1952, and many of these 10 have "safe" seats. Of the 89 Representatives (16 Democrats and 73 Republicans) who have all minus or only one plus vote, most of them hold "safe" seats. Stevenson would still be confronted with a stubborn core among the 117 Representatives and 26 Senators from the South.

But Stevenson would have advantages over Eisenhower in dealing with Congress. His party's new candidates for the Senate would help Stevenson if elected, not hurt. Schricker (Ind.), DiSalle (Ohio), Alexander (N. J.), Mechling (Nev.), and Symington (Mo.) are all identified with positive Truman policies, while Granger (Utah), Mansfield (Mont.), Jackson (Wash.), Ribicoff (Conn.), and Kennedy (Mass.) all have scored near perfect voting records during careers in the House. Sparkman's special ability to handle relations with the Southerners and Stevenson's own proved talent in legislative diplomacy should be strong assets. But the number of Northern and Western Democrats would still have to be greatly increased to provide the needed margin of support for further social legislation.

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# EXPLANATION OF SENATE VOTING CHART

**1. Troops to Europe** (4/3/51). After a bitter debate over President Truman's constitutional powers to send US troops to Europe to stiffen General Eisenhower's defense force for NATO, Senate Republicans, led by John Bricker (Ohio), attempted to send the bill back to committee for amendment to ham-string Presidential action. His move was rejected 31 to 56. For (—): 30 GOP, 1 Demo. Against (+): 13 GOP, 43 Demo.

**2. Aid to India** (5/16/51). When India faced famine last year, the Administration asked Congress to authorize the shipment of two million tons of US grain to her as a gift. But Senators Ferguson (R, Mich.), McCarran (D, Nev.) and Bridges (R, N. H.) insisted that India should purchase the wheat on a half-loan and half-gift basis, stipulating that India provide strategic materials to the US in return. Their amendment passed 52 to 32. For (—): 37 GOP, 15 Demo. Against (+): 2 GOP, 30 Demo.

**3. Cut Aid to Europe** (5/28/52). The President asked for a Mutual Security Act authorization of $7.9 billion but the House sliced off $1 billion. When the foreign-aid bill reached the Senate, Russell Long (D, La.) proposed a further reduction of $200 million which was accepted, 37 to 34. For (—): 26 GOP, 11 Demo. Against (+): 7 GOP, 27 Demo.

**4. Cut Point Four Program** (5/28/52). An attempt by Senator Butler (R, Nebr.) severely to limit spending for materials and equipment under the Point Four Program, designed to give technical assistance to underdeveloped countries, was defeated by a vote of 29 to 47. For (—): 27 GOP, 2 Demo. Against (+): 9 GOP, 38 Demo.

**5. Meat-Price Control** (6/27/51). Despite a warning that meat-price control could not be effective without restrictions, quotas or other limitations on livestock slaughtering, the Senate passed the Butler (R, Nebr.) amendment prohibiting OPS from such action by a vote of 47 to 33. For (—): 37 GOP, 10 Demo. Against (+): 3 GOP, 30 Demo.

**6. Kill Price and Wage Controls** (5/29/52). The Administration's attempt to halt inflation through controls became the target of Republican attempts to weaken the Defense Production Act through countless amendments. One of these, offered by Everett Dirksen (R, Ill.) would have ended price and wage controls on June 30, but was defeated 18 to 52. For (—): 16 GOP, 2 Demo. Against (+): 12 GOP, 40 Demo.

**7. Plug Tax Loopholes** (9/26/51). Congressional action fell far short of the President's request for a $10 billion tax boost. An Administration bloc of 15 Senators who fought to raise the yield failed to lift it above $5 billion. Senator Douglas' (D, Ill.) amendment for a withholding tax on dividends and corporate bond interest failed, in the face of a GOP-Dixiecrat coalition, by a vote of 15 to 70. For (+): 1 GOP, 14 Demo. Against (—): 38 GOP, 32 Demo.

**8. More Public Housing** (6/3/52). The real-estate lobby's attempt to scuttle the entire public-housing program met with success in the House but was stopped by the Senate. The President's request for construction of 75,000 new units had been cut to 5,000 by the House. By a vote of 37 to 31, the Senate restored the figure to 45,000. For (+): 8 GOP, 29 Demo. Against (—): 23 GOP, 8 Demo.

**9. School Construction** (5/10/51). When the Senate considered the $400 million Third Supplemental Appropriation for 1951, Sen. Robert Kerr (D, Okla.) offered an amendment to increase by $50 million funds for school construction. His amendment was defeated 35 to 41. For (+): 5 GOP, 30 Demo. Against (—): 30 GOP, 11 Demo.

**10. Oil Revenue for Schools** (4/2/52). Before the Congressional attempt to nullify the Supreme Court decisions upholding federal ownership of offshore oil and mineral resources was met by a Presidential veto, Sen. Lister Hill (D, Ala.) proposed that federal income from the oil leases be used to improve the nation's schools. The amendment died when a motion by Senator Holland (D, Fla.) to table it passed 47 to 36. For (—): 27 GOP, 20 Demo. Against (+): 11 GOP, 25 Demo.

**11. Reorganize Internal Revenue Bureau** (3/13/52). Many of those who shouted the loudest over exposés of corruption in the Internal Revenue Bureau attempted to defeat the Administration's plan to reorganize the Bureau and place the appointment of collectors under Civil Service. Lacking a two-thirds majority, the motion to disapprove the Plan was rejected by a vote of 37 to 53. For (—): 19 GOP, 18 Demo. Against (+): 23 GOP, 30 Demo.

**12. Steel Injunction** (6/10/52). Having rejected President Truman's request for steel-seizure authority, the anti-labor faction of the Republican Party and Southern Democrats joined together to adopt the Byrd (D, Va.) amendment by a vote of 49 to 30, requesting the President to use the Taft-Hartley Act 80-day injunction against striking steelworkers. For (—): 31 GOP, 18 Demo. Against (+): 3 GOP, 27 Demo.

**13. Aid to Medical Schools** (10/4/51). Sen. Robert Taft (R, Ohio) was a strong supporter of this bill to train more doctors and nurses for our armed services abroad until the American Medical Association simultaneously came out against the measure and for the nomination of Taft as the Republican Presidential candidate. Taft led in defeating the bill by a vote of 23 to 42. For (+): 3 GOP, 20 Demo. Against (—): 31 GOP, 11 Demo.

**14. Amend Immigration Act** (5/21/52). Sen. Pat McCarran (D, Nev.) revised US laws to bolster bars against Central and South European immigration and undercut new citizens' civil rights. An attempt by Senator Lehman (D, N. Y.) and several other Senators to remove the discriminatory provisions failed by a vote of 27 to 51. For (+): 8 GOP, 19 Demo. Against (—): 25 GOP, 26 Demo.

**15. Override Immigration Act Veto** (6/27/52). Because the McCarran Immigration Bill places new barriers in the path of immigrants who want to become US citizens and fosters the concept of second-class citizenship, President Truman vetoed the bill. The Senate overrode his veto by a vote of 57 to 26. For (—): 32 GOP, 25 Demo. Against (+): 8 GOP, 18 Demo.

Votes compiled from reports of the *Congressional Quarterly*, impartial news and reference services. The complete record of any Congressman can be checked in *CQ Almanac* and *CQ Weekly Report*, on file in most major libraries.

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# THE RECORD OF THE SENATE

| | 1 Troops to Europe | 2 Aid to India | 3 Cut Aid to Europe | 4 Cut Point Four Program | 5 Meat Price Control | 6 Kill Price and Wage Controls | 7 Stop Tax Loopholes | 8 Increase Public Housing | 9 School Construction | 10 Oil Revenue for Schools | 11 Reorganize Internal Revenue Bureau | 12 Steel Injunction | 13 Aid to Medical Schools | 14 Amend Immigration Act | 15 Override McCarran Act Veto |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **ALABAMA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Hill | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | O | + |
| Sparkman | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| **ARIZONA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Hayden | + | + | + | + | − | + | − | + | − | + | − | + | + | − | − |
| McFarland | + | + | + | + | − | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | − |
| **ARKANSAS** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Fulbright | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | O | + | + | − | − | + | − | − |
| McClellan | + | − | − | O | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| **CALIFORNIA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Knowland* | + | − | − | O | − | − | − | O | − | − | + | − | − | O | − |
| *Nixon* | + | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| **COLORADO** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Johnson | − | − | − | + | O | + | − | + | + | − | − | + | − | − | − |
| *Millikin* | − | O | − | − | − | − | − | − | O | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| **CONNECTICUT** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Benton | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Vacancy | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **DELAWARE** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Frear | + | O | − | + | + | + | − | + | O | − | + | − | − | − | − |
| *Williams* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − |
| **FLORIDA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Holland | + | − | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| Smathers | + | + | + | + | O | + | − | + | + | − | + | − | O | − | − |
| **GEORGIA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| George | + | − | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| Russell | + | − | + | + | + | + | − | O | + | − | − | O | + | − | O |
| **IDAHO** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Dworshak* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| *Welker* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| **ILLINOIS** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Dirksen* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | O | + | − | − | O | − |
| Douglas | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| **INDIANA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Capehart* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | O | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| *Jenner* | − | − | O | − | − | O | − | − | O | O | O | − | − | O | − |
| **IOWA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Gillette | + | + | + | + | − | − | − | O | − | + | + | O | − | + | + |
| *Hickenlooper* | − | − | − | − | − | O | − | − | − | − | − | − | O | − | − |
| **KANSAS** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Carlson* | − | − | O | O | − | O | − | O | + | − | − | O | − | O | − |
| *Schoeppel* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| **KENTUCKY** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Underwood | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + |
| Clements | + | + | + | + | O | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | O | − | − |
| **LOUISIANA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ellender | + | − | − | + | + | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| Long | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | − | − |
| **MAINE** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Brewster* | − | − | + | − | − | + | − | O | O | + | + | − | − | − | − |
| *Smith* | + | − | − | − | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | − | O | − | − |
| **MARYLAND** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Butler* | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | O | − | − | + | − | O | − | − |
| O'Conor | + | − | + | + | − | + | − | O | − | + | + | − | − | − | − |
| **MASSACHUSETTS** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Lodge* | + | − | + | + | + | + | − | + | − | O | + | − | − | + | + |
| *Saltonstall* | + | − | + | + | − | + | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | + | + |
| **MICHIGAN** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Ferguson* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − |
| Moody | | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| **MINNESOTA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Humphrey | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| *Thye* | + | − | − | − | − | + | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | − | − |
| **MISSISSIPPI** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Eastland | + | + | + | + | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | − | O | − | − |
| Stennis | + | − | − | + | + | + | − | − | + | − | − | − | + | − | − |

| | 1 Troops to Europe | 2 Aid to India | 3 Cut Aid to Europe | 4 Cut Point Four Program | 5 Meat Price Control | 6 Kill Price and Wage Controls | 7 Stop Tax Loopholes | 8 Increase Public Housing | 9 School Construction | 10 Oil Revenue for Schools | 11 Reorganize Internal Revenue Bureau | 12 Steel Injunction | 13 Aid to Medical Schools | 14 Amend Immigration Act | 15 Override McCarran Act Veto |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **MISSOURI** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Hennings | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| *Kem* | − | O | − | − | − | O | − | − | − | O | + | − | O | − | − |
| **MONTANA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Ecton* | − | O | − | O | O | O | − | O | + | − | − | O | − | − | − |
| Murray | + | + | + | + | O | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| **NEBRASKA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Butler* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| *Seaton* | | | O | O | − | O | | O | | + | + | − | | O | + |
| **NEVADA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Malone* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | O | − | + | + | O | − | − | − |
| McCarran | O | − | O | + | − | + | − | + | O | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| **NEW HAMPSHIRE** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Bridges* | O | − | − | − | − | − | O | − | − | − | O | − | O | − | − |
| *Tobey* | + | − | + | + | + | + | O | + | − | + | + | + | O | + | + |
| **NEW JERSEY** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Hendrickson* | − | − | − | + | − | + | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | + | + |
| *Smith* | + | − | + | + | − | + | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | + | + |
| **NEW MEXICO** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Anderson | + | + | + | + | + | + | O | + | + | + | + | + | O | + | O |
| Chavez | + | − | + | + | O | + | − | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + |
| **NEW YORK** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ives | + | − | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Lehman (D-L) | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| **NORTH CAROLINA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Hoey | + | − | + | + | + | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| Smith | + | − | − | + | + | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| **NORTH DAKOTA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Langer* | − | O | O | O | − | O | O | O | + | + | + | O | + | O | O |
| *Young* | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | O | − | − | − |
| **OHIO** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Bricker* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − |
| *Taft* | − | − | − | − | − | O | − | + | − | − | O | − | − | − | O |
| **OKLAHOMA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Kerr | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | O | O | + | + | O | O |
| Monroney | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | − |
| **OREGON** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Cordon* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | O | − | − |
| *Morse* | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| **PENNSYLVANIA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Duff* | + | − | + | + | − | + | − | + | O | O | + | O | O | + | + |
| *Martin* | − | − | − | − | O | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| **RHODE ISLAND** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Green | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Pastore | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| **SOUTH CAROLINA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Johnston | + | − | − | − | O | + | − | + | + | − | − | + | − | − | − |
| Maybank | + | − | − | + | + | + | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| **SOUTH DAKOTA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Case* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | O | − | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| *Mundt* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| **TENNESSEE** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Kefauver | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| McKellar | + | − | − | + | O | + | − | + | + | − | − | + | − | − | − |
| **TEXAS** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Connally | + | + | + | + | − | + | − | + | + | − | + | + | − | − | − |
| Johnson | + | + | + | + | − | + | − | + | + | − | + | − | + | − | − |
| **UTAH** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Bennett* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| *Watkins* | − | O | − | + | O | + | − | − | O | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| ***VERMONT*** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Aiken* | + | − | − | + | − | + | − | + | − | + | + | O | O | − | + |
| *Flanders* | + | − | + | O | − | O | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | O | − |
| **VIRGINIA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Byrd | + | O | − | − | O | O | O | − | − | − | + | − | O | − | − |
| Robertson | + | − | − | + | + | + | − | − | − | − | + | − | + | − | − |
| **WASHINGTON** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Cain* | − | − | − | O | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | O | − | − |
| Magnuson | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| **WEST VIRGINIA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Kilgore | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Neely | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| **WISCONSIN** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| McCarthy | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| *Wiley* | + | − | + | O | − | O | − | − | O | + | + | − | − | O | − |
| **WYOMING** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Hunt | + | + | + | + | O | + | − | + | O | O | + | + | + | + | + |
| O'Mahoney | + | + | + | + | − | + | − | + | − | + | + | + | O | + | + |

The symbol [+] indicates, in the opinion of the editors, a liberal vote. The symbol [−] indicates an anti-liberal vote. Those paired, or announced *against* liberalism, are tabulated [−]; those for, or announced for liberalism [+]. Those paired generally, absent or not voting are tabulated [O]. A blank indicates that the incumbent was not at that time a member of the Senate.

Names of Democrats are set in roman type and Republicans in *italic*.

A short explanation of each of the votes appears, with a corresponding number, on page 16.

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# EXPLANATION OF HOUSE VOTING CHART

**1. Reciprocal Trade Extension** (2/7/51). A coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats restored the old GOP "peril point" provision written into the reciprocal-trade legislation during the Republican 80th Congress and removed by the 81st. The amendment, introduced by Richard Simpson (R, Pa.), passed by a vote of 225 to 168. For (—): 183 GOP, 42 Demo. Against (+): 4 GOP, 163 Demo.*

**2. Aid to India** (5/24/51). By a vote of 293 to 94, the House finally authorized a $190 million loan to India for the purchase of US grain, partial repayment of the loan to be made in certain strategic materials. For (+): 121 GOP, 171 Demo. Against (—): 58 GOP, 36 Demo.

**3. Cut Aid to Europe** (5/23/52). Over the protest of the President and such top military leaders as General Eisenhower, House Republicans slashed $615 million from the defense support funds intended to promote Western Europe's transition from a recipient to a producer of its own armaments. The vote was 221 to 137. For (—): 160 GOP, 61 Demo. Against (+): 10 GOP, 127 Demo.

**4. Cut Point Four Program** (5/23/52). Asia, one of the most sensitive spots in our campaign for a free world, was the target for Republican hatchet work this year. The Vorys (R, Ohio) amendment to reduce funds for Asia by $111 million—a 10-percent cut in military and economic assistance, and a 50-percent cut in Point Four assistance—passed by a vote of 192 to 165. For (—): 132 GOP, 60 Demo. Against (+): 36 GOP, 129 Demo.

**5. Cost-Plus Pricing** (7/20/51). Economic Stabilizer Eric Johnston called the Poage-Cole Amendment, designed to give manufacturers and sellers added profits on every product at every stage of production and distribution, "a kick in the teeth for consumers." The amendment was defeated 181 to 233. For (—): 113 GOP, 68 Demo. Against (+): 78 GOP, 154 Demo.

**6. End Price Control** (6/26/52). The Talle (R, Iowa) amendment, later eliminated from the DPA bill, would have virtually ended all price controls June 30, 1952. It passed 210 to 182. For (—): 154 GOP, 56 Demo. Against (+): 40 GOP, 141 Demo.

**7. Weaken Rent Control** (6/26/52). The rent-control program was virtually scuttled with passage of the Wheeler (D, Ga.) amendment to terminate controls September 30, 1952, except in critical-defense areas where local authorities request its continuance. The vote was 226 to 169. For (—): 168 GOP, 58 Demo. Against (+): 26 GOP, 142 Demo.

**8. Increase Taxes** (6/22/51). Republican efforts to recommit the tax bill, designed to add $7.2 billion to taxes for defense costs, were blocked by a vote of 171 to 220; only one Democrat voted with 170 Republicans for recommittal. For (—): 170 GOP, 1 Demo. Against (+): 14 GOP, 205 Demo.

*Party breakdowns do not include Representative Reams (Independent, Ohio).

**9. Cut Public Power** (5/2/51). The private-power lobby, with the help of Republicans, pushed through the Keating (R, N. Y.) amendment prohibiting government construction of transmission lines to carry public power where private companies agree to carry this power. The vote was 226 to 165. For (—): 158 GOP, 67 Demo. Against (+): 25 GOP, 140 Demo.

**10. Cut Public Housing** (6/26/52). A House Republican move to send the appropriation bill back to committee to cut public-housing construction from 35,000 to 5,000 passed by a vote of 195 to 181. For (—) 154 GOP, 41 Demo. Against (+): 36 GOP, 145 Demo.

**11. Social Security** (5/19/52). Because a solid bloc of 99 Republicans voted against increasing old-age and survivors benefits, the House failed to get the necessary two-thirds majority to pass the measure on this roll call. The vote was 149 to 141. For (+): 52 GOP, 98 Demo. Against (—): 99 GOP, 42 Demo.

**12. Steel Injunction** (6/26/52). The GOP-Dixiecrat coalition forced through the Smith (D, Va.) amendment to request the President to invoke the Taft-Hartley Act to enjoin the steelworkers from striking. The vote was 228 to 164. For (—): 145 GOP, 82 Demo. Against (+): 47 GOP, 117 Demo.

**13. Legalizing Wetback Labor** (6/29/51). Over the protest of farm and labor organizations, the House passed a bill permitting farmers to employ Mexican "wet-backs" who enter this country illegally by a vote of 240 to 139. For (—): 132 GOP, 108 Demo. Against (+): 49 GOP, 90 Demo.

**14. State Ownership of "Tidelands"** (7/30/51). For the third time the House voted 265 to 109 to overrule the Supreme Court and hand the states the rights to off-shore oil and mineral resources. For (—): 156 GOP, 109 Demo. Against (+): 17 GOP, 91 Demo.

**15. Override McCarran Act Veto** (6/26/52). President Truman called the McCarran-Walter Immigration Bill "worse than the infamous Alien Act of 1798" when he vetoed the measure. The House overrode his veto by a vote of 278 to 113. For (—): 170 GOP, 107 Demo. Against (+): 23 GOP, 90 Demo.

**16. Restore Committee Gag-rule** (1/3/51). The Rules Committee, dominated by Southern Democrats and Republicans, had its power to "gag" legislation taken away by the 81st Congress. The 82nd Congress voted 243 to 180 to restore this power by striking out the provision permitting committee chairmen to call up bills for debate even though rejected by the Rules Committee. For (—): 152 GOP, 91 Demo. Against (+): 42 GOP, 137 Demo.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# THE RECORD OF THE HOUSE

| | 1 Reciprocal Trade Extension | 2 Aid to India | 3 Cut Aid to Europe | 4 Cut Point Four Program | 5 Cost-plus Pricing | 6 End Price Control | 7 Weaken Rent Control | 8 Increase Taxes | 9 Cut Public Power | 10 Cut Public Housing | 11 Social Security | 12 Steel Injunction | 13 Legalizing Wetback Labor | 14 State Ownership of "Tidelands" | 15 Override McCarran Act Veto | 16 Restore Committee Gag-rule |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **ALABAMA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 Andrews | + | − | − | − | − | − | + | + | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 9 Battle | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 1 Boykin | + | − | O | O | − | − | − | + | − | O | O | − | − | − | − | − |
| 6 deGraffenried | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | − | − |
| 7 Elliott | O | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | O | + | + | + | O | + | − | − |
| 2 Grant | + | + | + | − | − | − | − | + | − | + | + | + | − | − | − | − |
| 8 Jones | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | − | − |
| 5 Rains | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | O | + | + | + | − | − | − | − |
| 4 Roberts | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | − | − |
| **ARIZONA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 Murdock | + | O | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | O | − | + |
| 2 Patten | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | + | − | + |
| **ARKANSAS** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 Gathings | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 7 Harris | + | − | − | − | − | − | + | + | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − |
| 5 Hays | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | − | − | − | + |
| 2 Mills | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 6 Norrell | + | − | − | − | − | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 4 Tackett | + | + | O | − | + | O | O | + | − | O | O | O | − | − | O | − |
| 3 Trimble | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | O | + | − | − | − | − | + |
| **CALIFORNIA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7 *Allen* | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 8 *Anderson* | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | O | − | − | − | − | − |
| 11 *Bramblett* | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | O | − | O | − | − | − | − | − |
| 2 *Engle* | + | + | O | − | + | + | − | + | + | + | O | + | − | − | + | + |
| 4 *Havenner* | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | O | + | + | − | + | + |
| 9 *Hunter* | − | + | O | O | − | − | − | − | − | − | O | − | − | − | − | − |
| 3 *Johnson* | − | + | O | O | − | − | − | + | + | − | O | − | − | − | − | + |
| 23 McKinnon | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | O | + | − | − | + | + |
| 6 Miller | O | + | + | + | + | + | + | O | + | + | O | + | + | − | + | + |
| 22 *Phillips* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 1 *Scudder* | − | + | O | O | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 5 Shelley | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + |
| 21 Sheppard | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | O | + | − | − | − | + |
| 10 *Werdel* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | O | − | − | − | − | − |
| **Los Angeles County** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 18 Doyle | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + |
| 12 *Hillings* | − | + | O | O | + | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 20 *Hinshaw* | − | + | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 19 Holifield | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | O | + | + | − | + | + |
| 16 *Jackson* | − | + | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | − | O | − | − | − | − | − |
| 17 King | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | O | + | + | − | + | + |
| 15 McDonough | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | − | + | − | O | − | − | − | − | − |
| 13 *Poulson* | − | + | O | O | O | − | − | − | − | − | O | − | − | − | − | − |
| 14 Yorty | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + |
| **COLORADO** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 Aspinall | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 3 *Chenoweth* | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 2 *Hill* | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 1 Rogers | − | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | − | + | O | + | + | + | + | + |
| **CONNECTICUT** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 McGuire | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 4 *Morano* | − | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | − | − | + | + |
| 5 *Patterson* | − | + | O | O | + | + | + | − | − | + | O | + | + | − | + | − |
| 1 Ribicoff | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | O | + | O | + | + | + | + | + |
| AL *Sadlak* | − | + | − | − | + | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 *Seely-Brown* | − | + | − | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | − | − | + | + |
| **DELAWARE** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| AL Boggs | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| **FLORIDA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 Bennett | + | + | − | + | + | + | − | + | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 5 Herlong | − | + | O | + | − | − | − | + | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 4 Lantaff | − | + | − | + | + | + | − | + | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 1 McMullen | − | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 6 Rogers | + | + | − | − | + | − | − | + | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 3 Sikes | − | + | − | + | + | − | − | + | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | − |

The symbol [+] indicates, in the opinion of the editors, a liberal vote. The symbol [−] indicates an anti-liberal vote. Those paired, or announced *against* liberalism are tabulated [−]; those for, or announced for liberalism [+]. Those paired generally, absent or not voting are tabulated [O]. A blank indicates that the incumbent was not at that time a member of the House.

Names of Democrats are set in roman type and Republicans in *italic*.

* The Speaker of the House does not vote except in case of a tie.

A short explanation of each of the votes appears, with a corresponding number, on page 18.

| | 1 Reciprocal Trade Extension | 2 Aid to India | 3 Cut Aid to Europe | 4 Cut Point Four Program | 5 Cost-plus Pricing | 6 End Price Control | 7 Weaken Rent Control | 8 Increase Taxes | 9 Cut Public Power | 10 Cut Public Housing | 11 Social Security | 12 Steel Injunction | 13 Legalizing Wetback Labor | 14 State Ownership of "Tidelands" | 15 Override McCarran Act Veto | 16 Restore Committee Gag-rule |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **GEORGIA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 10 Brown | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 4 Camp | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | O | − | − | − | − | − |
| 2 Cox | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 5 Davis | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | O | − | − | − | − | − |
| 3 Forrester | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | O | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 7 Lanham | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | − | + |
| 1 Preston | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | − | + | O | − | − | − | − | − |
| 6 Vinson | + | + | O | O | − | + | + | + | O | + | O | − | − | − | − | − |
| 8 Wheeler | − | − | O | O | − | − | − | + | − | − | O | − | − | − | − | − |
| 9 Wood | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| **IDAHO** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 Budge | − | O | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − |
| 1 *Wood* | − | − | − | O | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | O | − | − |
| **ILLINOIS** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 16 *Allen* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | O | − | − | − |
| 17 *Arends* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 26 *Bishop* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | + | − | − | + |
| 19 *Chiperfield* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 23 *Jenison* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 21 Mack | + | + | O | O | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 15 *Mason* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − |
| 25 Price | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 14 *Reed* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 20 *Simpson* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 22 *Springer* | − | O | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 18 *Velde* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − |
| 24 *Vursell* | − | − | − | − | O | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| **Chicago—Cook County** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 *Busbey* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | O | O | − | − |
| 13 *Church* | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 1 Dawson | O | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | O | + | + | + | + | + |
| 8 Gordon | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | O | + | + | + | + | + |
| 10 Hoffman | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | O | − | − | − | − | − |
| 12 *Jonas* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | O | − | − | − | − | − |
| 5 Kluczynski | + | + | O | O | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 4 *McVey* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 6 O'Brien | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 7 Sabath | + | + | + | + | + | + | O | + | O | + | O | + | + | + | O | + |
| 11 Sheehan | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | O | − | + | O | − | + |
| 2 *Vail* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | O | − | − | − | − | O |
| 9 Yates | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| **INDIANA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 *Adair* | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 5 *Beamer* | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − |
| 7 *Bray* | − | + | − | + | + | + | − | − | − | − | − | + | + | − | − | − |
| 11 *Brownson* | − | + | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | − | O | + | − | − | − | − |
| 3 *Crumpacker* | − | + | − | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − |
| 8 Denton | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2 *Halleck* | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − |
| 6 *Harden* | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | O | + | − | − | − | − |
| 10 *Harvey* | − | O | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 1 Madden | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 9 *Wilson* | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | + | + | − | − | − |
| **IOWA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5 *Cunningham* | − | + | O | O | − | − | − | − | − | − | O | − | − | − | − | − |
| 6 *Dolliver* | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | − | − |
| 3 *Gross* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | + | + | + | − | + |
| 8 *Hoeven* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | O | − | − | − | − | − |
| 7 *Jensen* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 4 *LeCompte* | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | O | − | − | − |
| 1 *Martin* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 2 *Talle* | − | + | O | O | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | O | − | − |
| **KANSAS** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 *Cole* | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 3 *George* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | O | − | − | − | − |
| 5 *Hope* | − | + | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 4 *Rees* | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 2 *Scrivner* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 6 *Smith* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | O | − | − |
| **KENTUCKY** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 8 Bates | + | + | + | + | + | O | O | + | + | + | O | O | + | + | O | − |
| 4 Chelf | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | O | − | + | + | − | + |
| 9 *Golden* | − | O | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | O | + | O | − | + |
| 1 Gregory | + | + | + | − | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | − | − |
| 3 *Morton* | − | + | + | − | + | − | − | + | − | + | O | − | − | + | − | − |
| 7 Perkins | + | O | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + |
| 5 Spence | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | O | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 6 Watts | | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | O | + | O | − | − | O | − | |
| 2 Vacancy | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **LOUISIANA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 8 Allen | + | − | − | − | + | O | O | O | − | O | + | O | O | − | O | − |
| 2 Boggs | + | + | + | + | O | + | + | + | − | + | + | O | − | − | − | − |
| 4 Brooks | + | + | − | − | + | − | − | + | O | − | O | − | − | − | − | + |

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

| | 1 Reciprocal Trade Extension | 2 Aid to India | 3 Cut Aid to Europe | 4 Cut Point Four Program | 5 Cost-plus Pricing | 6 End Price Control | 7 Weaken Rent Control | 8 Increase Taxes | 9 Cut Public Power | 10 Cut Public Housing | 11 Social Security | 12 Steel Injunction | 13 Legalizing Wetback Labor | 14 State Ownership of "Tidelands" | 15 Override McCarran Act Veto | 16 Restore Committee Gag-rule |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **LOUISIANA—*Continued*** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 Hebert | + | − | + | + | + | + | − | + | − | − | ○ | + | − | − | − | − |
| 7 Larcade | ○ | − | − | − | + | − | + | + | ○ | − | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 6 Morrison | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | − | − |
| 5 Passman | ○ | − | − | − | ○ | − | − | + | − | + | ○ | + | − | − | + | − |
| 3 Willis | − | ○ | − | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| **MAINE** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 *McIntire* | | | − | + | | − | − | | | − | ○ | − | | | − | |
| 1 *Hale* | − | + | + | ○ | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 2 *Nelson* | − | + | − | ○ | + | − | + | − | − | − | ○ | + | − | − | − | + |
| **MARYLAND** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6 *Beall* | − | + | − | + | + | + | − | − | − | + | ○ | − | + | − | − | − |
| 2 *Devereux* | − | + | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | + |
| 4 *Fallon* | − | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | + |
| 3 *Garmatz* | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | ○ | + | + | − | + | + |
| 1 *Miller* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 5 *Sasscer* | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | ○ | + | + | ○ | + | ○ | + | − | ○ | + |
| **MASSACHUSETTS** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6 *Bates* | − | + | − | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 4 Donohue | − | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | − | + | + |
| 2 Furcolo | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + |
| 8 *Goodwin* | − | + | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 10 *Herter* | − | + | ○ | ○ | + | + | + | − | − | + | ○ | + | + | − | + | − |
| 1 *Heselton* | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | − | + | + |
| 11 Kennedy | ○ | + | ○ | ○ | + | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | + | + | − | + | + |
| 7 Lane | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | + | + | − | + | + |
| 14 *Martin* | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | ○ | − | − | − | − | − |
| 12 McCormack | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + |
| 9 *Nicholson* | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 3 Philbin | − | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | − | + | + |
| 5 *Rogers* | − | + | − | − | − | + | + | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | + |
| 13 *Wigglesworth* | − | + | − | + | + | + | + | − | − | − | ○ | − | + | − | − | − |
| **MICHIGAN** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 12 *Bennett* | − | − | − | − | + | + | − | − | + | ○ | + | + | + | − | − | + |
| 6 *Blackney* | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 8 *Crawford* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 5 *Ford* | − | + | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + |
| 4 *Hoffman* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 2 *Meader* | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − |
| 11 *Potter* | − | ○ | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | ○ | − | − | − | − | − |
| 3 *Shafer* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 9 *Thompson* | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 7 *Wolcott* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 10 *Woodruff* | − | − | ○ | ○ | − | − | − | − | ○ | − | − | − | + | ○ | ○ | − |
| **Detroit—Wayne County** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 15 Dingell | ○ | ○ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 17 *Dondero* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 16 Lesinski | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 1 Machrowicz | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 13 O'Brien | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 14 Rabaut | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | + | + | + | + | + |
| **MINNESOTA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7 *Andersen* | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | + | − | + |
| 1 *Andresen* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 8 Blatnik | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 9 *Hagen* | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 5 *Judd* | ○ | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | − | + |
| 6 Marshall | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 4 McCarthy | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2 *O'Hara* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | − | − |
| 3 Wier | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| **MISSISSIPPI** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 Abernethy | − | − | − | − | − | ○ | ○ | + | − | ○ | − | ○ | − | − | − | − |
| 6 Colmer | + | − | − | − | + | + | − | + | + | ○ | + | − | + | − | ○ | − |
| 1 Rankin | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | + | + | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 3 Smith | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 2 Whitten | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | + | + | + | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 7 *Williams* | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | + | + | − | ○ | − | − | − | − | − |
| 5 Winstead | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | + | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| **MISSOURI** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6 *Armstrong* | − | + | ○ | ○ | − | − | − | − | − | − | ○ | + | − | ○ | − | − |
| 5 Bolling | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 9 Cannon | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | ○ | + | + | ○ | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 8 Carnahan | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | ○ | + | + | ○ | + | ○ | + | + | ○ | + |
| 12 *Curtis* | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − |
| 4 Irving | + | ○ | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | + | + | ○ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 10 Jones | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + |
| 13 Karsten | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | ○ | + | + | + | − | + | + | + |
| 1 Magee | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | ○ | + | + | + | − | + | + | + |
| 2 Moulder | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | ○ | + | − | + | − | + |
| 7 *Short* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 11 *Bakewell* | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | ○ | + | + | + | ○ | |
| 3 Welch | + | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | + | + | + | ○ | + | + | + | | + |

| | 1 Reciprocal Trade Extension | 2 Aid to India | 3 Cut Aid to Europe | 4 Cut Point Four Program | 5 Cost-plus Pricing | 6 End Price Control | 7 Weaken Rent Control | 8 Increase Taxes | 9 Cut Public Power | 10 Cut Public Housing | 11 Social Security | 12 Steel Injunction | 13 Legalizing Wetback Labor | 14 State Ownership of "Tidelands" | 15 Override McCarran Act Veto | 16 Restore Committee Gag-rule |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **MONTANA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 *D'Ewart* | − | ○ | ○ | ○ | − | − | − | − | − | − | ○ | − | − | ○ | − | − |
| 1 Mansfield | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | + | − | + | − | − |
| **NEBRASKA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 *Buffett* | − | − | ○ | ○ | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 1 *Curtis* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 4 *Miller* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 3 *Harrison* | | | − | − | | − | − | | | − | ○ | − | | | − | |
| **NEVADA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| AL Baring | − | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | − | + |
| **NEW HAMPSHIRE** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 *Cotton* | − | + | − | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 1 *Merrow* | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | ○ | − | + | + | − | ○ | − | − | + |
| **NEW JERSEY** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 11 Addonizio | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 3 *Auchincloss* | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 8 *Canfield* | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 6 Case | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 5 *Eaton* | − | + | − | ○ | − | − | ○ | − | ○ | − | − | − | + | ○ | − | − |
| 2 *Hand* | − | + | − | − | − | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | − | − | + | + |
| 14 Hart | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 4 Howell | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 12 Kean | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 10 Rodino | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 13 Sieminski | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 9 *Osmers* | | | | | | | | | | | ○ | + | | | | |
| 7 *Widnall* | − | + | − | + | + | − | − | − | ○ | + | + | + | + | − | + | + |
| 1 *Wolverton* | − | + | − | − | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | − | − | + |
| **NEW MEXICO** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| AL Dempsey | − | + | ○ | ○ | + | ○ | ○ | ○ | + | ○ | + | ○ | − | ○ | ○ | − |
| AL Fernandez | + | + | + | + | − | − | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| **NEW YORK** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 44 *Butler* | − | + | − | − | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − |
| 32 O'Brien | | | + | + | | + | + | | | + | + | − | | | + | |
| 39 *Cole* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | ○ | ○ | − | − | − | + | − | − |
| 28 *Gamble* | − | + | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 1 Greenwood | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | − | + | − | − | |
| 27 *Gwinn* | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | |
| 37 *Hall, E. A.* | − | + | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | + | ○ | − | ○ | ○ | + | + |
| 2 *Hall, L. W.* | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | ○ | − | ○ | − | + | + |
| 31 *Kearney* | − | + | ○ | + | ○ | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | + | − | + | + |
| 40 *Keating* | − | + | − | + | + | + | − | − | − | − | + | − | + | − | + | + |
| 34 *Kilburn* | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | ○ | − | − | ○ | − | − |
| 42 *Miller* | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | ○ | − | − | − | + | − |
| 41 *Ostertag* | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | ○ | − | − | − | + | − |
| 43 *Radwan* | − | + | − | − | ○ | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | + | + | − |
| 45 *Reed* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | ○ | − | − | − | + | − |
| 36 *Riehlman* | − | + | − | + | + | + | − | − | − | − | ○ | − | − | − | − | + |
| 29 *St. George* | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | ○ | − | − | − | + | − |
| 38 *Taber* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 33 *Taylor* | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | + | ○ | − | + | − | + | + |
| 30 *Wharton* | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | ○ | − | − | ○ | + | ○ |
| 35 *Williams* | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | + | − | − | − |
| **New York City** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 8 Anfuso | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 25 Buckley | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 15 Celler | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 4 Clemente | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 17 *Coudert* | − | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 6 Delaney | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 24 Dollinger | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 18 Donovan | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 23 Fine | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 11 Heffernan | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 7 Heller | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 21 *Javits* | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 10 Kelly | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 9 Keogh | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 19 Klein | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 3 *Latham* | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | ○ | − | + | + | + | + |
| 26 McGrath | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 14 Multer | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 16 Murphy | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 13 O'Toole | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 22 Powell | ○ | + | + | + | + | ○ | ○ | + | + | ○ | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 5 *Ross* | | | − | + | | + | + | | | + | + | − | | | + | |
| 12 Rooney | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 20 Roosevelt D-L | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ○ | + | + | + | + | + |
| **NORTH CAROLINA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 Barden | ○ | ○ | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | ○ | ○ | − | − | − | − | − |
| 1 Bonner | + | − | ○ | − | + | ○ | − | + | − | ○ | ○ | − | − | − | − | − |
| 7 Carlyle | + | + | ○ | ○ | + | − | ○ | + | − | ○ | ○ | − | − | − | − | − |
| 5 Chatham | + | + | + | ○ | − | − | − | + | ○ | − | ○ | + | − | − | − | − |
| 4 Cooley | + | + | + | + | − | − | − | + | + | − | ○ | + | − | − | − | − |

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

| | Reciprocal Trade Extension | Aid to India | Cut Aid to Europe | Cut Point Four Program | Cost-plus Pricing | End Price Control | Weaken Rent Control | Increase Taxes | Cut Public Power | Cut Public Housing | Social Security | Steel Injunction | Legalizing Wetback Labor | State Ownership of "Tidelands" | Override McCarran Act Veto | Restore Committee Gag-rule |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 |
| **NORTH CAROLINA—*Continued*** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 8 Deane | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | O | − | − | − | − | + |
| 9 Doughton | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | O | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 6 Durham | + | + | − | − | O | − | − | + | − | − | O | − | − | − | − | − |
| 10 Jones, H. C. | + | + | O | + | − | − | − | + | − | − | O | − | − | − | − | − |
| 11 Jones, W. W. | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 2 Kerr | + | + | O | O | − | + | + | + | + | + | O | − | − | − | + | O |
| 12 Redden | O | − | O | O | − | − | − | + | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| **NORTH DAKOTA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| AL *Aandahl* | − | + | O | O | − | O | O | − | + | O | O | O | − | − | O | − |
| AL *Burdick* | − | + | − | − | + | O | O | − | + | O | + | O | − | − | O | + |
| **OHIO** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 14 *Ayres* | − | + | − | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | + | + |
| AL *Bender* | − | + | − | − | + | + | − | − | − | + | O | − | + | − | − | + |
| 8 *Betts* | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 22 *Bolton* | − | + | − | − | + | + | − | − | − | + | O | − | − | − | − | + |
| 16 *Bow* | − | O | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − |
| 3 *Schenck* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 11 *Brehm* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | O | − | − |
| 7 *Brown* | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 5 *Clevenger* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − |
| 21 Crosser | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 1 *Elston* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − |
| 20 Feighan | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 18 Hays | − | + | O | O | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2 *Hess* | − | + | − | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − |
| 10 *Jenkins* | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − |
| 19 Kirwan | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | O | O | + | + | + | + | + |
| 4 *McCulloch* | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 17 McGregor | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + |
| 6 Polk | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | + |
| 9 Reams (I) | + | + | O | O | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | − | O | − | − | + |
| 15 Secrest | − | O | − | − | + | + | + | + | − | − | O | − | O | − | − | + |
| 12 *Vorys* | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | O | − | O | − | − | − |
| 13 *Weichel* | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | O | − | − | − |
| **OKLAHOMA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 Albert | + | + | O | O | + | O | O | + | + | O | O | O | − | − | O | + |
| 8 *Belcher* | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 5 Jarman | + | + | − | + | + | − | − | + | − | + | O | − | + | − | − | + |
| 6 Morris | + | + | O | O | + | O | O | + | + | O | O | O | − | − | O | + |
| 1 Vacancy | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 Steed | + | + | − | − | + | O | O | + | + | O | + | − | − | − | O | − |
| 2 Stigler | + | + | + | + | + | O | O | + | + | O | + | O | − | − | O | + |
| 7 Wickersham | + | + | O | O | + | O | O | + | + | O | O | O | − | − | O | + |
| **OREGON** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 *Angell* | − | O | − | − | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | |
| 4 *Ellsworth* | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | O | − | − |
| 1 *Norblad* | − | + | − | − | O | + | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | + |
| 2 *Stockman* | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | + |
| **PENNSYLVANIA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 33 Buchanan | | | + | + | | + | + | | | + | + | + | | | + | |
| 15 *Bush* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 30 *Corbett* | − | + | − | − | + | + | + | − | − | − | + | + | + | + | − | + |
| 9 *Dague* | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | + | − | − | − | − |
| 29 *Denny* | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 32 Eberharter | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + |
| 12 *Fenton* | − | + | − | − | + | O | O | − | − | − | − | O | + | − | + | − |
| 11 Flood | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 31 *Fulton* | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 19 Gavin | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | O | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 14 *Carrigg* | | | − | − | | | | | | + | + | + | | | | |
| 25 *Graham* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 7 *James* | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − |
| 28 *Kearns* | − | − | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | − | + | + | + | − | − | − |
| 27 Kelley | + | + | + | + | O | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 21 Lind | − | O | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + |
| 16 *McConnell* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | + | − | − | − |
| 24 Morgan | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | O | + | + | + | + | + |
| 18 *Mumma* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 10 O'Neill | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | O | + | + | + | + | + |
| 13 Rhodes | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | O | + | + | O | + | + | + | + | + |
| 26 *Saylor* | − | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | O | + | + | O | + | + |
| 17 *Simpson* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | O | − | − | − |
| 23 *Sittler* | − | + | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | + | + | + | + | − | − | − |
| 22 *Van Zandt* | − | + | − | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | + | + | − | − | − | + |
| 8 *King* | | | − | + | | | | | | − | O | + | | | − | |
| 20 Walter | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | − | − | − | + |
| **Philadelphia** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 Barrett | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 4 Chudoff | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2 Granahan | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 5 Green | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 3 *Scott, Hardie* | − | + | O | O | + | + | + | − | − | + | O | + | O | − | − | − |
| 6 *Scott, Hugh* | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | O | + | − |
| **RHODE ISLAND** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 Fogarty | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | O | + | + | + | + | + |
| 1 Forand | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |

| | Reciprocal Trade Extension | Aid to India | Cut Aid to Europe | Cut Point Four Program | Cost-plus Pricing | End-Price Control | Weaken Rent Control | Increase Taxes | Cut Public Power | Cut Public Housing | Social Security | Steel Injunction | Legalizing Wetback Labor | State Ownership of "Tidelands" | Override McCarran Act Veto | Restore Committee Gag-rule |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 |
| **SOUTH CAROLINA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 Bryson | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 3 Dorn | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 6 McMillan | + | O | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | O | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 5 Richards | + | + | + | + | − | O | − | + | − | O | + | − | − | − | O | − |
| 2 Riley | + | + | + | − | − | − | − | + | O | − | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 1 Rivers | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| **SOUTH DAKOTA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 *Berry* | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 1 *Lovre* | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | O | − | − | − | − | − |
| **TENNESSEE** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 Baker | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | + | + | O | + | − | − | − |
| 9 Cooper | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + |
| 10 Davis | + | + | + | + | − | O | O | + | + | O | + | O | + | − | − | + |
| 5 Evins | + | + | − | + | − | O | O | + | + | O | + | O | + | − | − | + |
| 3 Frazier | + | + | − | + | + | O | O | + | + | O | + | O | + | − | − | + |
| 4 Gore | + | + | − | + | − | O | O | + | + | O | + | O | + | − | − | + |
| 8 Murray | + | − | − | − | − | − | O | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 6 Priest | + | + | O | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + |
| 1 Reece | − | − | − | − | O | O | O | + | − | − | + | O | O | + | O | + |
| 7 Sutton | − | O | − | − | O | O | O | + | + | O | O | O | O | + | O | + |
| **TEXAS** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 Beckworth | + | + | O | O | + | O | O | + | + | O | + | O | O | − | − | + |
| 15 Bentsen | − | − | − | + | − | + | − | + | + | + | + | − | − | − | − | + |
| 17 Burleson | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | + | + | + | − | − | − | − | + |
| 2 Combs | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | O | + | − | − | + |
| 21 Fisher | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 13 Ikard | | − | − | − | | − | − | | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 20 Kilday | O | + | − | − | − | − | − | O | − | − | − | − | O | − | − | − |
| 12 Lucas | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | + | + | O | − | − | − | − |
| 14 Lyle | + | + | + | − | − | − | O | + | − | O | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 19 Mahon | + | + | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 1 Patman | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | + |
| 7 Pickett | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | O | − | O | − | − | − | − | O | + |
| 11 Poage | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| *4 Rayburn | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 16 Regan | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 18 Rogers | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 6 Teague | O | − | − | − | − | O | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 8 Thomas | + | + | − | − | + | O | + | + | + | + | + | − | O | − | − | − |
| 9 Thompson | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | O | O | O | − | − | O | + |
| 10 Thornberry | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | − | − | − | + |
| 5 Wilson | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| **UTAH** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 Bosone | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | − | + |
| 1 Granger | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | O | + | − | + | − | + |
| **VERMONT** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| AL *Prouty* | − | + | − | + | + | − | − | + | − | − | O | − | + | − | − | + |
| **VIRGINIA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 Abbitt | + | + | O | O | + | − | − | + | − | − | O | − | − | − | − | − |
| 6 Burton | + | O | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 9 Fugate | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 3 Gary | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | O | − | − | − | − | − |
| 2 Hardy | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 7 Harrison | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 1 Robeson | + | − | O | O | + | − | − | + | − | O | O | − | − | − | − | − |
| 8 Smith | + | − | + | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 5 Stanley | + | − | − | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | O | − | − | − | − | − |
| **WASHINGTON** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 *Holmes* | − | + | − | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | − | − | + |
| 5 *Horan* | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 2 Jackson | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | O | + | − | − | + | + |
| 3 *Mack* | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | + | + | − | + | + | − | − | + | + |
| 1 Mitchell | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | O | O | + | − | − | + | + |
| 6 *Tollefson* | − | + | − | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + |
| **WEST VIRGINIA** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 Bailey | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | O | + | + | + | − | + |
| 4 Burnside | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | − | − | + |
| 6 Hedrick | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | − | O | O | + | + | − | − | + |
| 5 Kee | | | | | | + | + | | | + | + | + | | | | |
| 1 Ramsay | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | O | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2 Staggers | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| **WISCONSIN** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 8 Byrnes | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 2 Davis | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − |
| 9 Hull | − | − | − | − | + | + | + | − | + | − | + | + | − | − | − | + |
| 5 Kersten | − | + | − | + | − | − | − | − | O | − | − | − | O | − | + | − |
| 7 Vacancy | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 10 *O'Konski* | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | − |
| 1 *Smith* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 6 *Van Pelt* | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | O | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 3 *Withrow* | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + |
| 4 Zablocki | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| **WYOMING** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| AL *Harrison* | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | O | − | − | − | − | − |

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# TVA AFTER TWO DECADES

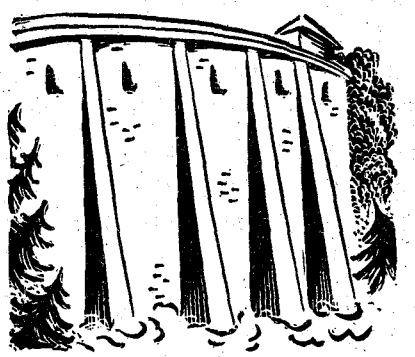
**by Gordon R. Clapp**

"WHY AFTER 19 years, is the Tennessee Valley Authority the only valley authority in existence in the United States?

This is a question asked by many visitors from all over the world—2,000 of them from 75 countries in the last year alone—who come to the Tennessee Valley to see and study the broad resource-development program the TVA has come to symbolize.

Many of them speak with pride of projects for river control and other developments in their own countries and tell how they were inspired in varying degrees, by the experience in the Tennessee Valley. Some of them may mention the names of TVA men who have been called abroad to help them get their projects started.

Coming to the Valley, they see the great multiple-purpose dams and reservoirs which harness an entire river system. They learn how the giant reservoirs, providing 12 million acre-feet of storage, even out the flow of the river by controlling floods in winter and releasing water in dry periods to help produce 20 billion kwh of electricity a year. Sturdy barges and towboats, lifted from lake to lake by locks, carry petroleum, automobiles, sulphur, coal, grain and other commerce. Thousands of pleasure craft dot the waters. At Muscle Shoals our visitors see the TVA chemical plants where improved concentrated fertilizers are produced by new methods which are being adopted by private fertilizer and chemical companies. On test-demonstration farms, they see mineral fertilizers bringing new life to the land, with fat livestock grazing lush pasture on what was once eroded corn and cotton land. They find new plantings of seedlings from TVA forest nurseries, planted by the millions by landowners to make abandoned acres productive again, and they note better forest-management practices coming into use.



They hail TVA as a successful American invention and wonder why it is not used on the Missouri, the Columbia and elsewhere.

Their question is not an easy one for TVA—or anyone else, for that matter—to answer. The value of TVA as a demonstration may be its most important contribution. But the goal of TVA has been and continues to be the full development of the resources and opportunities of the Tennessee Valley. TVA people may feel, as citizens and taxpayers, that the cost of river-valley development under the unintegrated aegis of a dozen federal bureaus and agencies, each pursuing its separate way, may be more than it need be. Our experience in the Tennessee Valley with a single, multi-purpose agency, held accountable for a variety of results, may equip us to advise. But it is not our duty to urge such measures nor to explain why other regions have not adopted them.

A column by Marquis Childs, discussing the need for action posed by the Missouri Valley floods of last spring, suggests one reason why TVA has no US counterpart:

> Others have opposed the MVA idea because, they argue, it means surrender of local control and local authority with a federal bureaucracy moving in and taking over. This has been a powerful argument as centralized authority out of Washington has more and more encroached in the the fields hitherto reserved for state and county government.

What basis is there in TVA experience for this argument? Several years ago the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* asked the governors of the seven states of which the Tennessee Valley is a part for their comments on just this point. To a man, the governors, all executives of commonwealths with long records of militant advocacy of states' rights, repudiated the notion that the TVA had in any way encroached upon state or local governments.

In 1952, the Knoxville *News-Sentinel* polled the governors again. Result: all favorable to the TVA.

The relationship between TVA, exercising recognized federal responsibilities, and the people and agencies of the region is epitomized from TVA's 1936 annual report:

> The planning of the river's future is entrusted to TVA. The planning of the Valley's future must be the democratic labor of many agencies and individuals, and final success is as much a matter of general initiative as of general consent.

Far from being weakened or made subservient by their contacts with TVA, the states today are stronger, more active, more aggressive and more effective than they were previously. The governors are witnesses to this fact. They knew that new agencies of their states had been formed to further the development of resources; existing

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agencies had been strengthened, their staffs increased in both numbers and competency. TVA, as a matter of basic policy, has initiated and encouraged such developments through both technical and material assistance. As this has happened, TVA has been able to devote its staff talents and energies to new problems and to special areas of difficulty untouched by statewide and valley-wide programs. In this process of co-operation state and local agencies have shown more leadership and competence in the development of the region's resources.

There are many examples—in state and local planning, in the extension of library service, in recreation and park development, in food-processing research and establishment of new food industries, in the operation of public river-port facilities, and in the distribution of electric power.

In view of the way "planning" and "planned economy" have been booted about the past few years, the role of planning in the Tennessee Valley is a good place to start. There is nothing grandiose about planning the TVA way, although it has not been unknown for youthful sociologists or economists to wander into TVA offices in search of "the plan." There is, of course, no such master blueprint, although there are plans and planners—for the control of the waters of an entire river system, for the development of a new fertilizer-manufacturing process, for the measurement of changes in income as farms change from cotton and corn to diversified agriculture, for selective cutting of a large forest tract or a farm wood lot, for pushing rural electric lines out along new highways and byways. Some of these are TVA plans, some are state and local plans, but "planners" collaborate freely across boundaries of jurisdiction, knowing the governing body of each will have its say in the program agreed upon.

**Here is an example** of how such planning works. The construction of multi-purpose reservoirs caused quick and sharp adjustments in a number of riverside communities where new shorelines were to emerge. To help make these physical, social and economic adjustments as painless and as creative as possible, TVA urged the formation of local planning boards which could express the desires and interests of the communities and with which TVA technicians could work and because local matters frequently blossom into issues of state concern, TVA fostered arrangements with state planning agencies, through which TVA aid to communities in the reservoir areas could be channeled.

In Tennessee, at the request of the governor, the TVA assisted in drafting state-local planning legislation. It then provided a small amount of money to hire a city planner to assist communities affected by TVA construction. Similarly, it provided funds for the Alabama state planning commission.

In 1933 none of the seven Tennessee Valley states had planning agencies; now all have agencies either exercising broad planning functions or acting in the narrower field of industrial development. In 1935 there were only two city planning agencies in the Valley; by 1950 there were 46 active local planning agencies and 23 other communities had engaged in planning to meet specific problems. TVA provides no funds for any of these agencies. They represent new agencies of administration and decision in the hands of local governments.

**Here is another example:** The TVA needed to provide library facilities for employees on its construction projects, some of them in remote mountain areas and others near small towns with little or no library service. The TVA could have set up its own libraries at each construction site, moving them off with the bulldozers and the concrete-mixing plants when the job was finished. But the TVA elected to spend the same amount of money contracting with state and local library boards for service.

The construction crews have long since departed and the TVA's contributions have been withdrawn, but 11 of the regional libraries are still in operation *with state and local funds* obtained from local taxpayers. As of 1950 there were 26 regional libraries in the Valley states, where none had existed in 1933.

The reason the people retained these libraries was graphically expressed by a local library-board member when the time came, upon the completion of Watts Bar Dam in 1942, to discontinue its support of the first such project. She said:

"We have 6,000 people in Meigs County, and no railroads, no telephones, and no newspapers. The bookmobile and the grapevine are the only means of communication. If we lose the bookmobile, how will we know what is going on in the world?" She and her neighbors prevailed upon the county court and the legislature for state and county funds to carry on what TVA helped to start.

In 1933 there were no state parks in the Valley and only two states had park agencies. To show what could be done on the lakes in the way of recreation, the TVA in the early years set up and operated five demonstration parks. Today, there are 50 state, municipal and county parks along the lakeshores. All the states have park commissions. There are 200 boat docks and 18,000 pleasure boats, ranging from canoes to cruisers. State and local agencies, corporate enterprises and individuals have put $31.5 million into recreation

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facilities on the lakes and commercial operations last year grossed $4.3 million. The TVA no longer operates any parks or recreation facilities.

There is a clear relationship between good farm markets and the ability of farmers to improve their farm practices. In recognition of this the TVA sought to improve the markets by encouraging food processing through research. For some research it used its own staff and facilities, while in other projects it co-operated with state institutions to which it paid about $240,000 over a period of years. Through these activities, the TVA's technical assistance contributed to the establishment of more than 120 industrial canning and freezing plants, more than 250 freezer-locker plants, and about 120 small meat-packing plants. In 1934 two men at one institution, with $10,000 worth of equipment and a budget of $18,500, carried on all the research in the Valley states. By 1950 nearly all the Valley state institutions were engaged in the work; 45 technicians were employed, research facilities were worth $1,750,000, and annual budgets totaled $414,000. The TVA has recently retired completely from the field.

Last year the 630-mile channel TVA has created with its dams carried about 600 million ton-miles of freight, saving shippers nearly $8 million. Large users of the river, such as oil companies and flour mills, provide their own terminal facilities. During World War II, the TVA built public-use terminals at four ports along the waterway so that shippers of smaller-than-barge-load lots could use the river. Today, these terminals have been turned over to private concerns on a business basis for operation under licenses which, if Congress approves, will be converted to leases with options to buy.

**The TVA dams** control floods, provide a navigation channel, and store water for the generation of electricity. The TVA operates the huge generation and transmission system which produces 12 times as much power as the region had in 1933. It is currently engaged in doubling its generating capacity to meet the normal power needs of the region and the extraordinary demands of such defense agencies as the Atomic Energy Commission. But the distribution of electricity, where it touches the lives and concerns of people in their homes, on their farms, in their business and industrial activities, is in the hands of the power boards of 147 locally owned municipal and co-operative systems. These power boards are appointed by local governments or elected by consumers. The systems, headed by these men and women, buy power from the TVA and resell it to 1.25 million consumers in a $100 million annual business. They have pioneered. The early co-operatives set up in 1934 are the prototype of hundreds of the REA co-operatives spread over the country today. Eighty-five percent of the farms are electrified, compared with three percent in 1933. Average home use of electricity has increased from 600 to 3,900 kwh annually; the current national average is about 2,070 kwh. Residential consumers, on the average, pay less than half as much for their electricity as do consumers in the rest of the country, but these business-managed, publicly owned systems, operated by the people of the region, are on a sound financial footing and rooted in local control, close to the consumer.

**These examples may explain** why the magnitude of the TVA projects and activities have not overwhelmed the people of the Valley. Maybe these examples show how residents of the Valley have used the TVA's control of the river, its fertilizer investigations and demonstrations, its forest and agriculture activities, its technical advice and assistance in all fields of resource development, to develop the region along the lines of their own choice. The TVA has helped the region change in two decades from an area predominantly agricultural to a region of rapidly expanding industrial employment. Manufacturing income in the Valley was 346 percent higher in 1950 than it was in 1929, compared with increases of 309 percent in the southeast and 201 percent in the nation. Manufacturing employment has grown 72 percent. Per-capita income has grown much more rapidly in the TVA region than in the US, being 58 percent of the national average in 1950 as compared with 40 percent pre-TVA.

The region has come far. It is a much more productive unit of the nation than it was two decades ago. It has demonstrated what can be accomplished when people get economic elbowroom and modern tools to work with. Not that the region has "arrived." Both the TVA and the region have their eyes on new horizons.

It is not surprising that the people of the Valley don't get very excited about the furious debate over whether or not Valley authorities represent "creeping socialism" or whether they are "vassals of a superstate."

Many of the special interests, which took a dim view of the new agency when it was launched at the depths of the depression have changed their opinion too—power companies, the coal industry, and retail merchants.

Fitzpatrick, the noted *Post-Dispatch* cartoonist, recently epitomized in one of his drawings the change that has taken place. He shows a giant dam representing TVA. Before it stand two contemplative figures, labeled "Local Business Man" and "Chamber of Commerce."

"Remember," read the caption, "when we used to call it Socialism?"

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# LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

## HENRY ADAMS, POLITICAL NOVELIST

**by Irving Howe**

HENRY ADAMS knew American politics through blood and birthright, but by the time he came to write *Democracy*, in 1879, he also knew it from close, sardonic observation. The play of manners which lights *Democracy* and the current of contempt which darkens it were both the result of his application to the *task*, for so he now conceived it, of seeing things from the outside, as an alien. *Democracy* was about as congenial to its time as a prophet to a barbecue; yet today it still reads well, a curiously elegant though disturbed satire of American politics.

DEMOCRACY, by Henry Adams (Farrar, Straus & Young; $3.50).

It is not, of course, a political novel in the sense that *The Possessed* or *Felix Holt* or *Virgin Soil* may be said to be a political novel. Ideologies in clash, voices threatening from the social depths, intellectuals yearning to reach "the people"—these were seldom present in 19th century American literature or life. The best political thinking of the young republic had concerned itself with procedures of (and often, against) government rather than with strategies for classes; American society was still too fluid and the American mind too empirical to require ideology; that would come later. What concerned Adams was corruption, not merely of the till but of the mind: that pall of sanctified mediocrity which de Tocqueville had noticed a few decades earlier and which, in the era of Grant, had visibly thickened. It was a corruption only occasionally similar to our own, for then it thrived on a fatuous security while today it is conditioned by a painful insecurity.

In writing *Democracy* Adams gave only occasional sanction to the needs of the novel form. At times, his amateur's impatience reminds one, rather oddly, of the professional's weariness in Turgeniev's last novels: both know where an act of the imagination is required yet both refuse to engage in that strange or familiar game, the "frivolity" of creation.

Adams had a splendid style, it almost covered the gaps of his novel; but his cool elegance often suggests a withdrawal from those nourishing excesses of American experience which Melville and Whitman had accepted and celebrated. His elegance is often a sign of embarrassment and contempt; very rarely, of pathos. The style becomes the enemy of the novel, shaping its meaning more than Adams must have intended: it makes his response to politics that of an esthete rather than a moralist, giving him too high-perched and nose-pinched an air. In his best moments, however, Adams knew that politics cannot profitably be treated in this way alone, but must be seen in far more complex terms, as a mixture, at least, of power, interest, morality and frailty.

Adams appears in the novel in three guises: first as the heroine, Mrs. Lee ("there was a very general impression in Washington that Mrs. Lee would like nothing better than to be in the White House"); second as Nathan Gore, a disabused historian retiring from politics half in sorrow, half in petulance; and third, in his own right, the skilled observer given to such slightly sour wisecracks as "democracy . . . is the government of the people, by the people, for the benefit of Senators." The problem of the novel is the problem of participation: what place is there for a sensitive, intelligent person in a government of swilling? But this problem is never sufficiently explored, for Mrs. Lee is too naïve, Gore too weak and Adams himself given to fastidious *longeurs*.

Mrs. Lee, determined to discover "the heart of the great American mystery of democracy" and to touch the pulse of "power," descends upon Washington, aquiver for enlightenment and experience. There she establishes a salon for the wits of the capital, European diplomats politely cynical about "the American experiment" and, in a more dour tone, her distant cousin Carrington, a ruined Southern lawyer who serves Adams as a counterweight of chivalry against the gross Northerners. Senator Silas Ratcliffe, leader of the politicians, is also drawn to this salon, in the hope of winning Mrs. Lee. There are fine scenes in which Ratcliffe is baited by a European diplomat (he makes the *unforgivable* error of confusing Voltaire with Moliere), and others in which he is seen in his squalid, lonely "rooms," lined with oilcloth and crammed with job-seekers. Later, listening to Mrs. Lee's friends chatter about art, Ratcliffe wishes he "understood precisely what tones and half-tones, colors and harmonies, were." His campaign to subjugate Mrs. Lee, which is the symbolic scheme of the novel, almost succeeds; it fails in the end only because Carrington, by breaching the code of his profession, proves to Mrs. Lee that Ratcliffe has accepted bribes.

**The situation** is set up for tension, but does not build into tension. Adams does not sufficiently let go, nor does he quite see through the characters who think and speak for him. One cannot extend Mrs. Lee the sympathy he solicits: having put her fingers in the fire, what could she expect but to be burned? Carrington is a romanticized figure, a clump of Southern furniture. Henry James, in *The Bostonians*, also used a Southerner as a counterweight to the busy scheming North, but one need only read the terrible last sentence of that novel to see that James, unlike Adams, was not to be taken in by his own device.

Ratcliffe is very powerful, and more so, I suspect, than Adams meant him to be. The arguments allowed him are too good for the figure he cuts. That

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morality must be complicated by political necessity or expediency, seems to me true; but surely this difficult and subtle position deserves a better defender than Ratcliffe and has, in any case, little to do with his own coarse behavior. And against Ratcliffe, Adams has surprisingly little to offer. Because Adams had seen the social basis of his family's politics washed away by industrialism, he retreated to a pose of moralism. Mrs. Lee, in the words of R. P. Blackmur, represents "the intelligence which is willing to tamper with the actual without being willing to seize it." She is shocked to discover that the source of Ratcliffe's power is, in part, corruption—though she lacks the acuteness to see that it is also far more than that. But she does not trouble to recognize that Carrington has employed deceit in order to expose Ratcliffe, or for that matter, that the source of her comfortable income may be as tainted as the source of Ratcliffe's political power. In other contexts, Adams was to realize the futility of the simple moralistic pose he struck in *Democracy*, and to recognize that against the Ratcliffes of his world more supple weapons are required.

*Democracy*, thus, is interesting less as a dramatization of politics than as a gesture of withdrawal and acknowledged helplessness. As such, it need not be scorned, for there are times when honest men must admit themselves to be helpless. But there also seems a layer of excess in Adams' despair—one feels that the adequate cause of that despair is to appear only after his death.

**Adams was not** a likable man; he was an important man. Like the intellectuals who would model themselves on his legend, he cultivated his snobbism too lovingly; he was something of what the Germans call *ein Besserwisser*; and his attitudes always seem a bit dissociated from his individual experience. In his own life he suffered the destructive split between literary and political vocations which has since become so prevalent. Were he alive today, one part of him would be editing a literary review and the other part ghostwriting political speeches. But it was greatly to his credit that even as he submitted to this split, he did not approve of it; he knew that for the intellectual, health is possible only through a unity of the two parts, even if a unity in tension.

Since his day politics in America has become heavier with ideology, though far less so than in Europe. The peculiar position of this country still permits the luxury of a party system without alignments of principle; as one character in *Democracy* brilliantly remarks, "You Americans believe yourselves to be excepted from the operation of general laws."

And that is our unique form of egotism: to take our transient advantages for transcendent virtues. But the direction of America, like it or not, will probably be toward Europe, toward ideology; and Adams' famous "mood" is one that can be justified and explained only as an anticipation of an age of ideology. That he may have been wrong about the second law of thermodynamics or the place of the Virgin in the 13th century, hardly matters; he was right about something far more important, his own feelings. He foresaw the abyss, the abyss that is ours.

## QUIET FLOWS THE DANUBE

ARROW IN THE BLUE, by Arthur Koestler (Macmillan; $5).

THERE IS A SPECIAL kind of writing, not peculiar to our time, that is essentially autobiographical; one thinks of Swift, Thackeray, Tolstoy and above all Flaubert. "Madame Bovary, c'est moi." Without the frames of myth and history, and the foci of religion and philosophy, the modern writer is driven to autobiography disguised as fiction, drama or poetry. Jake, Frederic, even Robert Jordan are Hemingway; Danny O'Neill is Jim Farrell; all Fitzgerald's heroes are tributes to Miss Lonelyhearts.

On occasion, the Byron of our times is driven into the clear and, instead of composing, deposes. Yeats, O'Casey, Gide, Orwell, Henry Miller recognized that at last the truth will out and left it for us. Now Arthur Koestler has dropped the masks of Spartacus, Rubashev and Joseph (*The Gladiators, Darkness at Noon* and *Thieves in the Night*) and wraps the patina of mature wisdom over the revery of adolescence. I was a bad boy, mummy, but I grew up.

The externals of the Koestler story have been well advertised: genteel poverty in Vienna and Budapest, down and out in the Middle East, meteoric success with the fabulous House of Ullstein, membership in the Communist Party in 1931 (where this first volume of his autobiography ends). The value of this book, in itself and in relation to the author's fiction, is Koestler the unknown. The fly-by-night existence in hotels and boarding houses, the aggrandisement of his partial Jewishness, the sense that the world was wrong, the curse of a child's body and face, all forced him to accept the fact that Marx and Lenin were right. What drove him over the precipice was the vacillation of liberal Germany and the ineptitude of Social Democracy. Cozy in the comfort of It Can't Happen Here, we forget that men of Koestler's background and native intelligence were driven into the Communist Party, the only hope of containing the ominous threat of Adolf Hitler. Of the genuineness of his sacrifice and disillusionment there is no doubt, and with the blinds down over the Iron Curtain we can only accept the dourness of his *Yogi and the Commissar*.

There is an infinite melancholy that plays over these precisely written pages. Of family and friends, of early and never forgotten loves, of duelling clubs, of father images, and of always the dream that somewhere, sometime there would be the ideal become real. It was not in the Danube basin, nor in Palestine, nor in the Arctic (where in a romantic lapse he hoped to found an Israelite colony), nor in the USSR. Only in the decadent democracies of Britain and the United States has he discovered a sort of peace.

Koestler is of that unhappy breed of men who sought for Zion and Utopia when history was charted by the fratricidal war of the Second and Third International. To follow that Arrow in the Blue he would have needed the happy optimism of Longfellow's huntsman. The forthcoming volumes of this autobiography should display an equal humility when it falls to earth.

GEORGE MAYBERRY

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## MAIMING THE BARD

SOME READERS FELT that although, in my Shakespeare series of last spring, I provided clear enough examples of under- and over-interpretation, I gave no adequate definition of the happy medium.

The shoe pinches—but not only me. When not crying down all interpretation (and thus, in practice, under-interpreting) or crying up simple-minded interpretation (and thus, in practice, over-interpreting), the theatrical profession acquiesces in Orson Welles' view: "Every single way of playing and staging Shakespeare—as long as the way is effective—is right." Now, unless it would always be "ineffective" to change an author's meaning, Mr. Welles is here accusing Shakespeare of having no meaning to change. If one thought that, one would prefer Eugene O'Neill.

**It must be** the assumption of serious direction that Shakespeare meant something and did not mean something else. His meanings can be rejected only on one or more of the following grounds: (A) that they are unacceptable to a modern audience, (B) that they cannot be communicated to a modern audience, (C) that they are uninteresting to a modern audience. Total rejection means not producing a play at all. There is a case for not producing *The Merchant of Venice* on grounds A and B or for not producing *Henry V* on grounds A, B, and C. Total rejection is simple. Difficulty arises when we reject a play in part, that is, when we produce it with cuts.

If we may cut the whole, it would be reasonable to deduce that we may cut the parts—also on grounds of being unacceptable, incommunicable, or uninteresting—were not masterpieces organic and integrated structures. A passage may be "cutable" on grounds A, B, or C, and yet necessary to the rhythm. Obviously there is a limit to the number of such enfeebled passages that any production can stand. It is when that limit is reached that the idea of a production should be canceled.

I think we must require that some 90 percent of Shakespeare's meaning (the figure is arbitrary) comes through. And here I do intend (answering one correspondent's query) the meaning the play had when first written, not any subsequent increment, and certainly not any separate "modern" meaning. The modernities I demand are not those which the director imposes on Shakespeare but those which he finds in Shakespeare. All he can impose is, at need, a modern frame to the picture, and even the modernity of the frame may often, as I pointed out, be only a more authentic historicity. *Finding* the positive significance in material which has passed the somewhat negative tests A, B, and C is the job.

Here I am accused, by another reader, of "hedging." Again, I have defined Scylla (the German and Russian left-wing Shakespeare) and Charybdis (the genteel British approach) without explaining how to steer in between. Can you blame me? In our time, the interpretation of a play has frequently been changed from top to bottom by reference to historical lore which our audiences know nothing about. It is implied that even the most popular and perennial of Shakespeare's plays can be rightly understood only in the light of Elizabethan history, psychology, physiology, demonology; the understanding of Shakespeare is limited to scholars, often in fact to the one scholar with the theory.

**Though at this** extreme point our sense of humor rebels, we certainly wonder if 90 percent is not much more of the original meaning than comes down to us. We are disposed either to give up production altogether—or to jump to the other extreme, make larger cuts, and simply have our own way. Bertolt Brecht goes through an Elizabethan play not only subtracting but adding as freely as did the Elizabethans themselves. He and Marlowe are joint authors of the German *Edward II*. Judging by the fragment in *Theaterarbeit*, I'd say that he and Shakespeare are joint authors of the new *Coriolan*. This is legitimate but is a matter of playwriting, not directing, a matter of changing Shakespeare, not interpreting him. Mere directors have to assume that the bulk of Shakespeare remains viable unchanged, if the responsibilities of interpretation are not shirked.

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SHAKESPEARE'S HISTORIES AT STRATFORD 1951, by J. Dover Wilson and T. C. Worsley (Theatre Arts; $4.50).

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One reader tells me they were not shirked in the Stratford productions of the histories and appeals from my "strictures" to an official apologia, *Shakespeare's Histories at Stratford 1951*. In this lavishly illustrated, if expensive, 100-page pamphlet, Mr. Worsley and the many colleagues he quotes assume that the Stratford productions were guided by an adequate "conception" and that it only remains to discuss whether the conception confirms, or conflicts with, established ideas of the character, the atmosphere, and so forth. Although the level of the discussion and the quality of the writing are far higher than anything of the kind would be in New York, one is bound to complain that the assumptions common to all these critics are extremely limiting. They have in fact the limits of current British gentility, the same limits (for obvious reasons) as those of the performances under review. The goldfish are agile and their fins flicker prettily, but the bowl, even if none of them know it exists, narrows the horizon.

In an admirable introductory essay, Dover Wilson throws out suggestions that, had they been made in advance, might have driven Mr. Quayle further along the road of interpretation. Looking back to the medieval tradition, he describes *Richard II* as a miracle, *Henry IV* as a morality. Looking forward to the present, he observes: "Never was non-moral statecraft more rampant . . . the Nazis and Stalinites have brought back to Europe the technique of Italian renaissance politics." Here to be sure is a basis for a modern production of the histories. In applying this idea we are not fitting Shakespeare with modern false limbs; on the contrary, we may accuse our genteel colleagues, for all their love of the bard, of maiming him.

ERIC BENTLEY

[This is a supplement to *NR* Drama Critic Bentley's series, *The Modern Shakespeare* (*NR* April 28, May 5, May 12, May 26, June 2).—The Editors.]

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## THE CLOUDED VIEW

POETRY IN OUR TIME, by Babette Deutsch (Henry Holt; $6).

IN THE WRITING of an explanatory book which is to contain various levels of reference and a variety of material, the author is always confronted with that vexing question of the organization of matter and the intellectual level of interpretation. For what audience should he write? What should he take for granted? Should he treat of a few central figures only by which to delineate important movements, or should he make use of authors and their work as incidental illustration? Should he neglect minor figures, or give them special emphasis for future trends they might forecast? Where unwittingly may the familiar be over-explained and the obvious obscured? In the foreword to her book, Miss Deutsch anticipates some of these questions, which indeed could not but have occupied her in the planning, and answers that her purpose is to make poetry of the twentieth century more accessible to the "intelligent reader," to deal at length with "significant trends," and to neglect neither the "founders of modern verse, nor fine poets of slight output."

Unfortunately, Miss Deutsch's awareness is not equivalent to accomplishment. In regard to "significant trends": although she groups the Imagists and Fugitives for special consideration, she neglects the Surrealists, and offers no reportage or analysis of the two most significant literary movements of our century: that of the metaphysical and symbolist. In regard to the "founders of modern verse": although she belatedly devotes considerable attention to Gerary Manley Hopkins in the latter part of her book, she gives no special attention to Emily Dickinson, though the name and salty impact of that amatory spinstress crops up often and inevitably. In regard to "poets of slight output": perhaps the most inexplicable omission, even by name, is that of Edwin Muir, one of the best poets writing in England today. Other fine English poets are either completely omitted: Lawrence Durrell, Kathleen Raine, Anne Ridler, or inadequately mentioned: Robert Graves, Herbert Read, Isaac Rosenberg, David Gascoyne, Vernon Watkins. Although Gervase Stewart is mourned as a loss of the Second World War, no epitaph is drawn of greater losses to our literature: Sidney Keyes, Alun Lewis, Keith Douglas. Miss Deutsch's authority is better on native ground, although she does not mention John Berryman or Marguerite Young, gives less attention than they deserve to Randall Jarrell, Delmore Schwartz, and Muriel Rukeyser, and neglects James Merrill in a consideration of Richard Wilbur, with whom he is now often coupled as among the best poets of the younger generation.

**As wide a latitude** of choice should be given to appraisers as to anthologists of poetry, and I should not have mentioned these omissions or misjudgments did not many of them seem to me serious contradictions of Miss Deutsch's intention as expressed in her foreword. More serious still is the lack of any unifying plan in her book, either historical (where small choice is possible) or thematic (where restrictive choice is mandatory). What seems to have been the organizational intention of the book, the development of "significant trends," is carried out loosely and sporadically, is infirm in outline and crippled with curious omissions, inclusions, and juxtapositions. Thus, in a chapter entitled "Speech and Song" devoted almost entirely to Ezra Pound, there seems to be no fundamental reason why the other poets to be considered should be Archibald MacLeish, Robert Fitzgerald, Basil Bunting, and Hubert Creekmore, or why Theodore Roethke should in particular be considered with T. S. Eliot. There is no revealing summation in the last chapter entitled "Science and Poetry," and no satisfying relation drawn between these two protagonists. In short, significance is the quality most often lacking in *Poetry in Our Time*. Yet Miss Deutsch finds room for paraphrases of many poems which either do not sufficiently illuminate a theme or are not so thorough as to be of value in themselves. Perhaps basically her miscalculation lies in that she has written for a rambling "gentle reader" of the late nineteenth century, and not for the "intelligent reader" of our own time. Her work lacks the popular clear forms of the books by Elizabeth Drew or David Daiches, the erratic wit and rhetoric of Louis Untermeyer, and falls far short of the precise exegesis of text, the significant interpretation and impact of literary and social trends, or the creative acumen of insight to which we have been acclimated by our best contemporary critics and scholars. What remains is a high though disjointed competence of commentary wherever Miss Deutsch deals with the more major figures. A reader who has only a cursory knowledge of modern poetry will find her comments of use because they do not go beyond his capacity to assimilate, and a more informed reader will find stated here what has been most often and most generally said about these poets, though set down with random knowledge and limited range. Here, then, is a competence that offers intelligent comment to the uninitiated but small competition to the more cultivated critic or the more than gentle reader.

KIMON FRIAR

## A NEGRO IN THE SOUTH

SOUTH OF FREEDOM, by Carl T. Rowan (Knopf; $3.50).

ALLUSIONS TO the "New South"—an optimistic term dating back to Reconstruction—have become epidemic in the past few years. Early in 1951, Carl Rowan journeyed back to his native region, as a reporter and a Negro, to find the term's new meanings in race relations. He traveled some 6,000 miles, discussing race with Southerners, white and Negro, and testing for himself the outer limits of law and custom which circumscribe the Southern Negro's life.

Had he been less honest or less perceptive, this book might easily have been another "exposé" exhibiting Jim Crow in all its one-dimensional ugliness. Fortunately, it is something considerably richer and more rewarding.

The South, as Rowan observed it, still worships its old god, segregation, but with growing doubt and defection, occasionally amounting to open heresy. He found that, with a certain amount of persistence, it was possible to ride

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unsegregated on a railroad coach in Georgia. But at the end of his ride he found it hazardous to try to buy a newspaper in the "white" waiting room. He found a few white Southerners who were willing to suffer ostracism for their belief in racial equality. But he found many more who feared to speak out for decency, and some who would do violence to preserve white supremacy. He found university students living and working side by side without racial distinctions. But he also found Americans divided and degraded by segregation in the nation's capital.

Here are the paradoxes, the big injustices, the startling signs of hope which characterize today's South. Within the limits of his investigation, Rowan has caught their complexity and reported it honestly and effectively.

But much the best passages in the book are those in which Rowan ceases to be a reporter and draws freely on memory and reflection. His return to the South was a profound personal experience, and he communicates that experience to the reader with unusual skill. We share his anger and hurt at discriminations practiced as a matter of course, accepted unthinkingly by a whole society. And, finally, we join in his desire for "a simple little thing called dignity," which is neither simple nor little, but the essence of equality.

This sensitive inner record is not only the most memorable part of *South of Freedom* but will probably do most to further the book's purpose—to "produce new understanding among the millions of Americans who know so little about the problem." HAROLD FLEMING

## THE RIMBAUD JOURNEY

THE MAN WHO WENT AWAY, by Themistocles Hoetis (Pellegrini & Cudahy; $2.75).

THIS FIRST NOVEL deals with the strange in that flat tone which is sometimes first cousin to the poetic and is distinguished for its niceness of design and its dream-like compression of form, by which only those incidents are chosen that accentuate what is *not* being said. Compression works here all for suggestion—meanings, not too definable, that hover over the whole, like a haze of atmosphere—far engines of the supernatural, and those mysteries being observed somewhere, within a court of gods.

You might say of its character, Alex, who takes the Rimbaud journey that begins with North Africa—if he knew what he were going to do, would he do it? Ailment has descended on him from the American skies. Or is it the particular sky of this century? In any case, haunted by some vision of that "frozen sleep" into which he may forever fall, his "life in stone bound fast," Alex starts out for the journey to those laps and cradles of civilization—the Upper Nile—perhaps deepest Africa, India—that will either awake him from his illness or render him up to it completely. Alex does not know what he is doing. But do it he must. Part of the journey may be, it is suggested, via routes of drugs or mysticism. For we presume that he is seeking for some old land of the interior vision, though only by means of the exterior may he get there.

**The novel** may be read as a straight story of a handful of characters alienated in time and condition. They meet, part, and in the end all is as it was in the beginning. Akin, the girl who remembers, is playing her oboe; the music is an ode, "The Dwelling of the Gods," and she is the composer. The music is what is left over from the departure of Alex, her lover. Between the beginning and the end a series of incidents lead into one another as one small Chinese box fits into a larger one. Where is the end of the boxes? They might vanish to a pinpoint for in this story the final meaning eludes. The climate is the thing. This is the climate of alienation which Hoetis manages not to make *cliché*, familiar subject as it is to us. Though the various characters are talented, some of them beautiful, they might be wanderers in a desert. And it is as a desert character, half limmed, a monkish figure, that Alex emerges from his American shell. It is a shell. He himself has said: "America will never erect statues for people like us." What people? Artists, potential artists, and those who ask to live on some plane off-key. The kingdom of the gods is behind them and above them. They court it in an imaginative embrace that is never defined. On the daily level their lives are prosaic; a hunt for subway fare in an empty purse; a nibble of biscuits in some broken-down loft. Poverty has its comic touches, but it is endured by them in a trance of acceptance. Whether it is Reuben, the cab driver, or von Riefenbach who suggests the prison house of hypnotic wish-fulfillment within the wish, these characters seem intended to represent more than themselves. One accepts them as one accepts characters in a fable and only later, when Akin, the abandoned girl, has broken the little Hathor, that statue of the goddess of social joy—irony in this book where social joys are absent!—will the echoes set up by the footsteps begin to reverberate. Then one wonders. Alex, the departed, has given her a symbol of the gods and taken himself away.

One can be provoked as well as tantalized by the careful protection of enigma and certainly Hoetis, in this fable of modern existence, strives by the glancing-off approach for evocation—never explanation. Yet the enigmas are ably contained within their own boundaries. If one might want the boundaries extended or the ground beneath deepened by specificities, yet one realizes that too much of this and it could be overblown, or blown up. Hoetis maintains a firm control over a delicate

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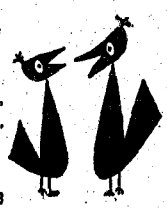

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drift of material and surely he succeeds in doing what he wanted to do: the book "goes on" after its action stops.

Nor does it, despite faint parallels at one point with *Brideshead Revisited* and the wandering besotted disillusionary of the Africa of Paul Bowles, resort to the specifically religious, the tricky sadism, the violent. He has not succumbed to influences. One wants to commend Hoetis for sustaining what he does with a singleness of tone and intention that makes the book concentrated with that poetry of the unexpected and the original.

JEAN GARRIGUE

## THE SECOND PROFILE

ADLAI STEVENSON, by John Bartlow Martin (Harper; $2.50).

DESCRIBED on the jacket as an intimate portrait of a new kind of man in American politics, Mr. Martin's slender volume seeks to reveal the inner self of the Democratic Party's most unusual candidate for the Presidency. In this it does not succeed. It does present an interesting array of facts concerning the candidate and observations obtained at close range over an extended period. But it gives the reader less understanding of the man than it is possible to achieve by study of one of the candidate's serious campaign speeches.

From the book you may learn how the young Governor of Illinois works at his job, the long solitary night hours at his desk in the executive mansion in Springfield and the similar hours alone in his rooms on the 22nd floor of the state office building in Chicago. "Always after me to have a state policeman down here at the building," he tells the author. "I think it's silly—why anyone should want to come up twenty-two floors to do anything to me is beyond my comprehension." You may learn much about his parents, grandparents and early ancestors; something about his boyhood, his education—quite hit-or-miss up to a point; his diversions, athletic and social; his approach to public service, the depth of his dedication to it once he had found it more satisfying than the law, newspaper work or farm management. You may learn a little at least of the marriage that ended in divorce without bitterness on either side; with instead a friendly respect of each for the other. All these things and much more. But when you finish Mr. Martin's painstaking biography you are apt to feel that, while you now know a lot *about* Adlai Stevenson you don't know him any better. And that for a true insight into his heart and mind you must continue to read his amazingly self-revealing speeches.


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The book is well worth the price, however, if only for a fascinating chapter that tells how Stevenson got into politics and how he became Governor as the result of the efforts of certain friends to send him to the US Senate. There was a man named Kohn, Louis A. Kohn, a well-to-do Chicago lawyer. During three war years out in the Pacific he read newspaper accounts of Stevenson's work for Secretary Knox. Martin quotes him: "While I was overseas in some god-forsaken spot I got to wondering why I was there. And I made up my mind that if I ever got back home I'd try to do something about it. I began wondering. 'Who in Illinois would be the kind of man to go to the Senate to supply the world leadership we're going to need?'"

Many returned soldiers have reported high resolves born of like circumstances. Kohn seems to have held to his. On his return he renewed his acquaintance with Stevenson and told him he was the type that should run for high office. Stevenson was interested. As a matter of fact, Stevenson had not rebuked other friends for making the same suggestion as early as 1941. A tentative movement in his behalf that year was cut short by the outbreak of the war. The author relates:

> Kohn saw Stevenson from time to time. He kept badgering him with letters and phone calls until Stevenson finally told his old friend Dutch Smith, "Lou Kohn is driving me crazy. He's determined that I run for the Senate. He calls me on the telephone. I don't know what to say to him. You talk to him."

Dutch (Herman Dunlop) Smith is a Republican, but he is typical of the company kept in those days by the man now running for President on a personal as well as party platform a little left of the middle of the road.

> He lives in a lake-front mansion in Lake Forest. He is a director and executive vice-president of Marsh and McLennan, one of the biggest if not the biggest insurance brokerage firms in America. He is wealthy. He and his wife are active in civic and charitable affairs. He is an intelligent man of wide-ranging interests, a student of Midwest history, a collector of Americana. He is one of Stevenson's closest friends.

It would be unfair to try to tell here what Martin tells well and at length, the story of how these amateurs finally got Jake Arvey interested in their project and of how Stevenson wound up in Springfield instead of Washington. One incident of their hectic maneuvering may suffice. Smith on a business trip to New York discovered Arvey sitting in the club car of the 20th Century Limited. "We'd been breaking our necks trying to get five minutes alone with Arvey." He sat down and gave the Chicago boss a selling talk.

"Colonel Arvey said, 'Well, I don't know. A fellow was telling me the other day I'd better lay off Stevenson, that he went to Oxford.'

"As soon as Smith got to New York he wired Stevenson, asking for a telegram denying he had gone to Oxford. Stevenson replied: 'Never went to Oxford not even to Eton'."

Typical of Adlai, to assume that Jake had heard of Eton. LOWELL MELLETT

## BRIEFLY NOTED

ISLAMIC CONSTITUTION, by Kemal A. Faruki (Khokhropar Gateway Press; $2).

FOR MOST CONSTITUTIONAL Arab states, the Quran is the keystone upon which the common and moral laws are founded.

In India, the country remained in theocracy even after independence. In Pakistan—the Muslims have created a national state, based upon religion but now tending to allow the native Muhammaden to subordinate Islam to the call of nationalism.

Mr. Faruki deplores this tendency and calls attention to the conversion of Turkey from an Islamic state based upon the Quran to a Western state where Islam has retreated to a position similar the Christianity in the West. Faruki argues for the moral law as promulgated, by the Prophet Mahammed, and his quotations from the Surahs to prove his contention. L. G.


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